to understand claims much done this busi-vill be duly at-l be made and with the in-

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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than a fine dog or horse; to my poor heart-broken mother I was a child; and, though I never saw her, after the cruel sale that separated us, till she died, yet I know she always loved me dearly. I know it by my own heart. When I think of all she suffered, of my own learned to the distresser and struggles.

CHAPTER XLIII.—The Liberator. early sufferings, of the distresses and struggles of my heroic wife, of my sister, sold in the New Orleans slave-market-though I hope to have no unchristian sentiments, yet I may be excus-ed for saying, I have no wish to pass for an

ed for saying, I have no wish to pass for an American, or to identify myself with them.

"It is with the oppressed, enslaved African race that I cast in my lot; and, if I wished anything, I would wish myself two shades darker, rather than one lighter.

"The desire and yearning of my soul is for an African nationality. I want a people that shall have a tangible, separate existence of its own; and where am I to look for it? Not in Hayti; for in Hayti they had nothing to start with. A stream cannot rise above its fountain. with. A stream cannot rise above its fountain. The race that formed the character of the Haytiens was a worn-out, effeminate one; and, of course, the subject race will be centuries in

rising to anything.
"Where, then, shall I look? On the shores of Africa I see a republic—a republic formed of picked men, who, by energy and self-educating force, have in many cases, individually, raised themselves above a condition of slavery. Having gone through a preparatory stage of feebleness, this republic has, at last, become an acknowledged nation on the face of the earth acknowledged by both France and England. There it is my wish to go, and find myself a

people.

"I am aware, now, that I shall have you all against me; but, before you strike, hear me. During my stay in France, I have followed up, with intense interest, the history of my people in America. I have noted the struggle between the interest and colonisationist, and have rein America. I have noted the struggle between abolitionist and colonizationist, and have received some impressions, as a distant spectator, which could never have occurred to me as a participator.

"I grant that this Liberia may have subserved all sorts of purposes, by being played off, in the hands of our opposes, by being played off, in the hands of our opposes, by being played off, in the hands of our opposes, by being played off, in the hands of our opposes, by being played off, in the hands of our opposes, by being played off, in the could—that's "Didn't say nothin' 'bout my old man, s'pose?" said Chloe, still fidgeting with the tea-cups.

"No, he didn't. He did not speak of anything, Chloe. He said he would tell all when he got home."

"Jes like mass'r George."

the hands of our oppressors, against us. Doubt-less the scheme may have been used, in unjust-ifiable ways, as a means of retarding our emancipation. But the question to me is, Is there not a God above all man's schemes? May He not have overruled their designs, and founded for us a nation by them?
"In these days, a nation is born in a day. A

nation starts, now, with all the great problems of republican life and civilization wrought out to its hand; it has not to discover, but only to apply. Let us, then, all take hold together, with all our might, and see what we can do with this new enterprise, and the whole splendid continent of Africa opens before us and our children. Our nation shall roll the tide of civilization and Christianity along its shores, and plant there mighty republics, that, growing with the rapidity of tropical vegetation, shall

be for all coming ages.

"Do you say that I am deserting my enslaved brethren? I think not. If I forget them one hour, one moment of my life, so may God forget me! But, what can I do for them here? Can I break their chains? No, not as an individual; but let me go and form part of a nation, which shall have a voice in the counsels of nations, and then we can speak. A natio has a right to argue, remonstrate, implore, and present, the cause of its race, which an indi-

vidual has not.

"If Europe ever becomes a grand council of free nations—as I trust in God it will—if there seridom and all unjust and oppressive social inequalities are done away; and if they, as France and England have done, acknowledge our position, then, in the great Congress of Nations we will make our appeal, and present the cause of our enslaved and suffering race and it cannot be that free, enlightened America will not then desire to wipe from her escutched that bar sinister which disgraces her among nations, and is as truly a curse to her as to the

"But, you will tell me, our race have equa rights to mingle in the American Republic as the Irishman, the German, the Swede. Granted, they have. We ought to be free to meet and mingle—to rise by our individual worth, without any consideration of caste or color; and they who deny us this right are false to their own professed principles of human equality. We ought, in particular, to be allowed here. We have more than the rights of common more more real to the results of the rights of common more real to the rights of the r mon men—we have the claim of an injured race for reparation. But, then, I do not wan it; I want a country, a nation, of my own. think that the African race has peculiarities yet to be unfolded in the light of civilization and Christianity, which, if not the same with those of the Anglo-Saxon, may prove to be morally, of even a higher type.

"To the Anglo-Saxon race has been intrust

ed the destinies of the world, during its pionee period of struggle and conflict. To that mis sion its stern, inflexible, energetic element were well adapted; but, as a Christian, I look or another era to arise. On its borders I trus we stand; and the throes that now convul the nations are, to my hope, but the birth-pangs of an hour of universal peace and brotherhood. "I trust that the development of Africa is to be essentially a Christian one. If not a domian affectionate, magnanimous, and forgiving one. Having been called in the furnace of in-justice and oppression, they have need to bind closer to their hearts that subline doctrine of

closer to their hearts that subline doctrine of love and forgiveness, through which alone they are to conquer, which it is to be their mission to spread over the continent of Africa.

"In myself, I confess I am feeble for this; full half the blood in my veins is the hot and hasty Saxon: but I have an eloquent preacher of the Gospel ever by my side, in the person of my beautiful wife. When I wander, her gentler spirit ever restores me, and keeps before my spirit ever restores me, and keeps before my eyes the Christian calling and mission of our eyes the Christian calling and mission of our race. As a Christian patriot, as a teacher of Christianity, I go to my country—my chosen, my glorious Africa! And to her, in my heart, I sometimes apply those splendid words of prophecy: 'Whereas thou has been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee; I will make thee an eternal excellence, a joy of many reparational?

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This is what I go for; and in time is sure I shall not be disappointed.

"Whatever you may think of my determination, do not divorce me from your confidence; and think that, in whatever I do, I act with a heart wholly given to my people.

heart wholly given to my people.
"George Harris." George, with his wife, children, and sister, embarked for Africa some few weeks after. If we are not mistaken, the world will yet hear

from him there.

Of our other characters we have nothing

For the National Era.

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UNCLE TOM'S CABIN:

OR,

LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY MRS. H. B. STOWE.

CHAPTER XLII—Continued.

George's feelings and views, as an educated man, may be best expressed in a letter to one of his friends:

"I feel somewhat at a loss, as to my future course. True, as you have said to me, I might mingle in the circles of the whites, in this country, my shade of color is so slight, and that of my wife and family scarce perceptible. Well, perhaps, on sufferance, I might. But, to tell you the truth, I have no wish to.

"My sympathies are not for my father's race, but for my mother's. To him I was no more than a fine dog or horse; to my poor heartbroken mother I was a child; and, though I never saw her, after the cruel sale that sepa-

George Shelby had written to his mother merely a line, stating the day that she might expect him home. Of the death scene of his old friend he had not the heart to write. He had tried several times, and only succeeded in half choking himself, and invariably finished

half choking himself, and invariably finished by tearing up the paper, wiping his eyes, and rushing somewhere to get quiet.

There was a pleased bustle all through the Shelby mansion that day, in 'expectation of the arrival of young mass'r George.

Mrs. Shelby was seated in her comfortable parlor, where a cheerful hickory fire was dispelling the chill of the late autumn evening. A supper-table, glittering with plate and cut glass, was set out, over whose arrangements our former friend, old Chloe, was presiding.

Arrayed in a new calico dress, with clean, white apron, and high, well-starched turban, her black polished face glowing with satisfaction, she lingered, with needless punctiliousness, around the arrangements of the table, merely as an excuse for talking a little to her mistress.

"Laws, now! won't it look natural to him?"

"Laws, now! won't it look natural to him?" she said. "Thar—I set his plate just whar he likes it—round by the fire. Mass'r George allers wants de warm seat. O, go away! why didn't Sally get out de best tea-pot—de little new one mass'r George got for missis, Christmas? I'll have it out! And missis has heard from mass'r George?" she said, inquiringly.
"Yes, Chloe; but only a line, just to say he
would be home to-night, if he could—that's

out to the house, now, watchin' de hoe-cake.
I's got jist de very pattern my old man liked
so much, a bakin'. Jist sich as I gin him the
mornin' he was took off. Lord bless us! how
I felt dat ar morning!"
Mrs. Shelby sighed, and felt a heavy weight
on her heart, at this allusion. She had felt
uneasy ever since she received her son's letter,
lest something should prove to be hidden he.

lest something should prove to be hidden be hind the veil of silence which he had drawn. "Missis has got them bills?" said Chloe

"Yes, Chloe." bills de perfectioner gave me. 'And,' says he, 'Chloe, I wish you'd stay longer.' 'Thank you mass'r,' says I, 'I would, only my old man's coming home, and missis—she can't do with-out me no longer.' There's jist what I telled him. Berry nice man, dat mass'r Jones was."

Chloe had pertinaciously insisted that the very bills in which her wages had been paid should be preserved, to show to her husband in memorial of her capability. And Mrs. Shelby had readily consented to humor her in the

'He won't know Polly—my old man won't. Laws, it's five years since they tuck him! She was a baby den—couldn't but jist stand. Remember how tickled he used to be, cause she would keep a fallin' over, when she sot out to walk. Laws a me!"

The rattling of wheels now was heard.

"Mass'r George!" said aunt Chloe, starting Mrs. Shelby ran to the entry door, and was folded in the arms of her son. Aunt Chloe stood anxiously straining her eyes out into the

darkness.

O, poor, Aunt Chloe!" said George, stopping compassionately, and taking her hard, black hand between both his; "I'd have given all my

fortune to have brought him with me, but he's gone to a better country."

There was a passionate exclamation from There was a passionate excumination.

Mrs. Shelby, but Aunt Chloe said nothing.

The

The party entered the supper-room. The money, of Which Chlor was so proud, was still lying on the table.

"Thar," said she, gathering it up, and holding it with a trembling hand to her mistress, "don't never want to see nor hear on't again. Jist as I knew 'twould be—sold, and murdered states and all about tiens."

on dem ar old plantations!"

Chloe turned, and was walking sadly out of the room. Mrs. Shelby followed her softly, and took one of her hands, drew her down into

and took one of her hands, drew her down into a chair, and sat down by her.

"My poor, good Chloe!" said she.
Chloe leaned her head on her mistress's shoulder, and sobbed out, "O missis! 'scuse me, my heart's broke, that's all!"

"I know it," said Mrs. Shelby, as her toars fell fast; "and I cannot heal it, but Jesus can. He healeth the broken-hearted, and bindeth up their wounds."

There was a silence for some time, and all wept together. At last, George, sitting down beside the mourner, took her hand, and with simple pathos repeated the triumphant scene of her husband's death, and his last messages of love.

of love.

About a month after this, one morning, all

About a month after this, one morning, all the servants of the Shelby estate were convened together in the great hall that ran through the house, to hear a few words from their young master.

To the surprise of all, he appeared among them with a bundle of papers in his hand, containing a certificate of freedom to every one on the place, which he read successively, and presented, amid the sobs and tears and shouts of all present.

sented, amid the sobs and tears and should of all present.

Many, however, pressed around him, anxiously begging him not to send them away; and, with anxious faces, tendering back their free papers.

"We don't want to be no freer than we are.

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1852.

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This is what I go for; and in this I am quite sure I shall not be disapprointed. But, you are now free men and free women. I shall pay you wages for your work, such as we shall agree on. The advantage is, that in case of my getting in debt, or dying—things that might happen—you cannot now be taken up and sold. I expect to carry on the estate, and to teach you what, perhaps, it will take you some time to learn—how to use the rights I give you as free men and women. I expect you to be good, and willing to learn; and I trust in God that I shall be faithful, and willing to teach. And now, my friends look up ing to teach. And now, my friends, look up, and thank God for the blessing of freedom."

An aged, patriarchal negro, who had grown gray and blind on the estate, now rose, and lifting his trembling hand, said, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord!" As all kneeled by one consent, a more touching and hearty Te
Deum never ascended to heaven, though borne
on the peal of organ, bell, and cannon, than
came from that honest old heart. On rising, another struck up a Methodist hymn, of which the burden was,

"The year of Jubilee is come; Return, ye ransomed sinners, home." "One thing more," said George, as he stopped the congratulations of the throng; "you all remember our good old Uncle Tom?" George here gave a short narration of the scene of his death, and of his loving farewell

to all on the place, and added—
"It was on his grave, my friends, that I resolved, before God, that I would never own ansolved, before God, that I would never own another slave, while it was possible to free him; that nobody, through me, should ever run the risk of being parted from home and friends, and dying on a lonely plantation, as he died. So, when you rejoice in your freedom, think that you owe it to that good old soul, and pay it back in kindness to his wife and children. Think of your freedom, every time you see UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; and let it be a memorial to put you all in mind to follow in his steps, and be as honest, and faithful, and Christian, as he was." Christian, as he was."

CHAPTER XLIV .- Concluding Remarks. The writer has often been inquired of, by correspondents from different parts of the country, whether this narrative is a true one; and to these inquiries she will give one general answer.

The separate incidents that compose the

narrative are, to a very great extent, authentic, occurring many of them either under her own observation, or that of her personal friends. She or her friends have observed characters the counterpart of almost all that are here in-troduced; and many of the sayings are word for word as heard herself, or reported to her.

The personal appearance of Eliza, the character ascribed to her, are sketches drawn from life. The incorruptible fidelity, piety, and honesty, of Uncle Tom, had more than one

development to her personal knowledge. Some of the most deeply tragic and romantic, some of the most terrible incidents, have also their parallel in reality. The incident of the mother's crossing the Ohio river on the ice is a well-known fort. The extern of "and Para" in the control of the mother's crossing the Ohio river on the ice is a well-known fort.

"Jes like mass'r George—he's allers so ferce for tellin' everything hisself. I allers minded dat ar in mass'r George. Don't see, for my part, how white people gen'lly can bar to hev to write things much as they do, writin''s such slow, oneasy kind o' work."

Mrs. Shelby smiled.

"I'm a thinkin' my old man won't know de boys and de baby. Lor'! she's de biggest gal now, good she is too, and pert, Polly is. She's out to the house, now, watchin' de hoe-cake.

"Be got like mass'r George—he's allers so ferce for tellin' everything hisself. I allers minded that if I had escaped from an og. c's den."

That the tragical fate of Tom, also, has too many times had its psrallel, there are living witnesses, all over our land, to testify. Let it is a principle of jurisprudence that no person of colored lineage can testify in a suit against a white, and it will be easy to see that such a case may occur, wherever there is a man whose passions outweigh his interests, and a slave who has manhood or principle enough to were so arranged that a master could now and then torture an apprentice to death, without a possibility of being brought to justice, would it possibility of being brought to justice, would it be received with equal composure? Would it be said, "These cases are rare, and no samples of general practice?" This injustice is an inherent one in the slave system—it cannot exist without it.

The public and shameless sale of beautiful relationship of the same acquired as

The public and shameless sale of beautiful mulatto and quadroon girls has acquired a notoriety, from the incidents following the capture of the Pearl. We extract the following so the capture of the Pearl. We extract the following the capture of the Pearl. We extract the following the capture of the Pearl. We extract the following so the capture of the Pearl of the Legal counsel for the defendants in that case. He says: "In that company of seventy-six persons, who attempted, in 1848, to escape from the District of Columbia in the schooner Pearl, and whose officers I assisted in defending, there were several young and healthy girls, who had those peculiar attractions of form and feature which connoisseurs prize so highly. Elizabeth Russel was one of them. She immediately fell into the slave-trader's fangs, and was doomed for the New Orleans market. The hearts of those that saw her market. The hearts of those that saw her were touched with pity for her fate. They offered eighteen hundred dollars to redeem her; and smote her with death. There were two girls named Edmundson in the same company. girls named Edmundson in the same company. When about to be sent to the same market, an older sister went to the shambles, to plead with the wretch who owned them, for the love of God, to spare his victims. He bantered her, telling what fine dresses and fine furniture they would have. 'Yes,' she said, 'that may do very well in this life, but what will become of them in the next?' They two were sent to New Orleans, but were afterwards redeemed. New Orleans, but were afterwards redeemed at an enormous ransom, and brought back."
Is it not plain, from this, that the histories of
Emmeline and Cassy may have many counter-

parts?

Justice, too, obliges the author to state that the fairness of mind and generosity attributed to St. Clare are not without a parallel, as the following anecdote will show. A few years since, a young Southern gentleman was in Cincinnati, with a favorite servant, who had been his parsonal attendant from a how. The Cincinnati, with a favorite servant, who had been his personal attendant from a boy. The young man took advantage of this opportunity to secure his own freedom, and fled to the protection of a Quaker, who was quite noted in affairs of this kind. The owner was exceedingly indignant. He had always treated the slave with such indulgence, and his confidence in his affection was such, that he believed he must have been practiced upon to induce him to revolt from him. He visited the Quaker, in high anger; but, being possessed of uncommon candor and fairness, was soon quieted by his arguments and representations. It was a side of the subject which he never had heardnever had thought on; and he immediately fold the Quaker that, if his slave would, to his own face, say that it was his desire to be free, own face, say that it was his desire to be free, he would liberate him. An interview was forthwith procured, and Nathan was asked by his young master whether he had ever had any reason to complain of his treatment, in

any reason to complain of any respect.

"No, mass'r," said Nathan; "you've always "No, mass'r," said Nathan; "you've always to leave

replied, "Nathan, in your place, I think I stretch out; and, by her silence, encourage the should feel very much so, myself. You are free." which injustice and cruelty shall bring on nations the wrath of Almighty God! cannot be done. True, he opposed the Compromise measures, so called, and for which the Democracy of Ohio will ever honor him. A free."

He immediately made him out free papers; deposited a sum of money in the hands of the Quaker, to be judiciously used in assisting him to start in life, and left a very sensible and life that the young man. That ders? If it must be so, it will be a mournful spectacle. If it must be so, the country will have reason to tremble, when it remembers that the fate of nations is in the hands of One who is very pitiful, and of tender compassion.

to start in life, and left a very sensible and kind letter of advice to the young man. That letter was for some time in the writer's hands. The author hopes she has done justice to that nobility, generosity, and humanity, which in many cases characterize individuals at the South. Such instances save us from utter despair of our kind. But, she asks any person, who knows the world, are such characters common, anywhere?

common, anywhere?

For many years of her life, the author avoided all reading upon or allusion to the subject of slavery, considering it as too painful to be inquired into, and one which advancing light inquired into, and one which advancing light and civilization would certainly live down. But since the legislative act of 1851, when she heard, with perfect surprise and consternation, Christian and humane people actually recommending the remanding escaped fugitives into slavery, as a duty binding on good citizons—when she heard, on all liands, from kind, companies and certificate and control to the form passionate, and estimable people, in the free States of the North, deliberations and discussions as to what Christian duty could be on thi head—she could only think, These men and Christians cannot know what slavery is; if they did, such a question could never be open for discussion. And from this srose a desire to exhibit it in a living dramatic reality. She has endeavored to show it fairly, in its best and its worst phases. In its best aspect, she

all legal right to give testimony, make every individual an irresponsible despot? Can anybody fail to make the inference what the practical result will be? If there is, as we admit, a public generally, is for education. There is nothing sentiment among your men of honor, justice and humanity, is there not also another kind brutal and debased? And cannot the ruffian, the brutal, the debased, by slave-law, own just as many slaves as the best and purest?

Are the honorable, the just, the high-minded and compassionate, the majority anywhere in this west.

The slave trade is now, by American law, The slave trade is now, by American law, facts, on the authority of Professor C. E. Stowe, considered as piracy. But a slave trade, as then of Lane Seminary, Ohio, with regard to

The writer has given only a faint shadow, a

of the cross of Christ.

And now, men and women of America, is this a thing to be trifled with, apologized for, and passed over in silence? Farmers of Massachusetts, of New Hampshire, of Vermont, of Connecticut, who read this book by the blaze Connecticut, who read this book by the blaze of your winter-evening fire—strong-hearted, generous sailors and ship-owners of Maine—is this a thing for you to countenance and encourage? Brave and generous men of New York, farmers of rich and joyous Ohio, and ye of the mide waite States are a sit this a whose passions outweigh his interests, and a slave who has manhood or principle enough to resist his will. There is, actually, nothing to protect the slave's life, but the character of the master. Facts too shocking to be contemplated occasionally force their way to the public ear, and the comment that one often hears made on them is more shocking than the thing itself. It is said, "Very likely such cases may now and then occur, but they are no sample of general practice." If the laws of New England and the contemplation of the wide prairie States—answer, is this a thing for you to protect and countenance? And you, mothers of America—you, who have learned, by the cradles of your own children, to love and feel for all mankind—by the sacred love you bear your child; by your joy in his beautiful, spotless infancy; by the motherly pity and tenderness with which you guide his growing years; by the anxieties of his education; by the prayers you breathe for his soul's eternal prayers you breathe for his soul's eternal good—I beseech you, pity the mother who has all your affections, and not one legal right to protect, guide, or educate, the child of her bosom! By the sick hour of your child; by those dying eyes, which you can never forget; by those last cries, that wrung your heart when by those last cries, that wrung your heart when you could neither help nor save; by the desolation of that empty cradle, that silent nursery—I beseech you, pity those mothers that are constantly made childless by the American slave trade! And say, mothers of America, is this a thing to be defended, sympathized with, passed

over in silence?

Do you say that the people of the free States Do you say that the people of the free States have nothing to do with it, and can no nothing? Would to God this were true! But it is not true. The people of the free States have defended, encouraged, and participated; and are more gnilty for it, before God, than the South, in that they have not the apology of education or exercise.

or custom.

If the mothers of the free States had all felt as they should, in times past, the sons of the free States would not have been the holders, offered eighteen hundred dollars to redeem her; and some there were who offered to give, that would not have much left after the gift; but the fiend of a slave-trader was inexorable. She was despatched to New Orleans; but, when about half way there, God had mercy on her, and smote her with death. There were two equivalent to money, in their mercantile deal-ings. There are multitudes of slaves tempo-rarily owned, and sold again, by merchants in Northern cities: and shall the whole guilt or obloquy of slavery fall only on the South?

Northern men, Northern mothers, Northern Christians, have something more to do than denounce their brethren at the South; they have to look to the evil among themselves.

But, what can any individual do? Of that every individual can judge. There is one thing that every individual can do—they can see to it that they feel right. An atmosphere of sympathetic influence encircles every human being; and the man or woman who feels strong-the healthilly, and justly on the great interests.

ing; and the man or woman who feels strongly, healthily, and justly, on the great interests of humanity, is a constant benefactor to the human race. See, then, to your sympathies in this matter! Are they in harmony with the sympathies of Christ? or are they swayed and perverted by the sophistries of worldly policy? Christian men and women of the North! still further—you have another power; you can pray? Do you believe in prayer? or has it become an indistinct apostolic tradition? You pray for the heathen abroad; pray also for the heathen at home. And pray for those distressed Christians whose whole chance of religious improvement is an accident of trade and sale; from whom any adherence to the morals of whom any adherence to the morals of

from whom any adherence to the morals of Christianity is, in many cases, an impossibility, unless they have given them, from above, the courage and grace of martyrdom.

But, still more. On the shores of our free States are emerging the poor, shattered, broken remnants of families, of men and women, escaped, by miraculous providences, from the surges of slavery—feeble in knowledge, and, in many cases, infirm in moral constitution, from a system which confounds and confuses every principle of Christianity and morality. They come to seek a refuge among us; they come to seek a refuge among us; they come to seek education, knowledge, Christianity.

What do you owe to these poor unfortu-

What do you owe to these poor unfortu-nates, oh Christians? Does not every Ameri-can Christian owe to the African race some efwill make thee an eternal excellence, a joy many generations!"

"You will call me an enthusiast—you will me that I have not well considered what I and undertaking. But I have considered, and missis, and de rest!"

"We's allers had all we wanted. We don't want to leave de ole place, and mass'r and missis, and de rest!"

"Mass'r may die, and then who would get a silence, "there'll be no need for he could get a silence, "there'll be no need for he could get a silence, "there'll be no need for he could get a silence, "there'll be no need for he could get a silence, "there'll be no need for he could get a silence, "there'll be no need for he could get a silence, "there'll be no need for he could get a silence, "there'll be no need for he wrongs that the American nation has brought upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Shall the doors of churches and school-houses be shut upon them? Mass'r may die, and then who would get missis, and de rest!"

"Mass'r may die, and then who would get me? I'd rather be a free man."

"After some deliberation, the young master"

maturity, and then assist them in their passage
to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in AmericaThere is a body of men at the North, comparatively small, who have been doing this;
and, as the result, this country has already exmodes of men formerly slaves who have year amples of men, formerly slaves, who have rapidly acquired property, reputation, and education. Talent has been developed, which, considering the circumstances, is certainly remarkable; and, for moral traits of honesty, kindness, tenderness of feeling—for heroic efforts and self-denials, endured for the ransom of brethren ing upon the late remark of the Washington and its worst phases. In its best aspect, she has, perhaps, been successful; but, oh! who shall say what yet remains untold in that valley and shadow of death that lies the other markable to a degree that, considering the influence under which they were born, is surprised to the position of the Ohio Deside 1.

To you, generous, noble-minded men and women of the South—you, whose virtue, and magnanmity, and purity of character, are the greater for the severer trial it has encountered—to you is her appeal. Have you not, in your own secret souls, in your own private conservation of the severer fall that there are the conservation of the severer fall that there are the conservation of the severer severe sever greater for the severer trial it has encountered—to you is her appeal. Have you not in your own secret souls, in your own private conversings, felt that there are woes and evils in this accursed system, far beyond what are here shadowed, or can be shadowed? Can it be otherwise? Is man ever a creature to be true. shadowed, or can be shadowed? Can it be otherwise? Is man ever a creature to be trusted with wholly irresponsible power? And does not the slave system, by denying the slave her deductions, with regard to the capabilities

generally, is for education. There is nothing that they are not willing to give or do to have and humanity, is there not also another kind of public sentiment among the ruffian, the writer has observed herself, or taken the testi-The author gives the following statement of

systematic as ever was carried on on the coast of Africa, is an inevitable attendant and result of given to show the capability of the race, even American slavery. And its heart-break and its horrors, can they be told? without any very particular assistance or encouragement.

eighteen hundred dollars for his family; member of the Baptist church; received a legacy from his master, which he has taken good care of, and increased.

"G——. Full black, of Virginia; coal dealer; about thirty years old; worth eighteen thousand dollars; paid for himself twice, being once defrauded to the amount of sixteen hun-

dred dollars; made all his money by his own efforts—much of it while a slave, hiring his time of his master, and doing business for himself; a fine, gentlemanly fellow.

"W——. Three-fourths black; barber and waiter; from Kentucky; nineteen years free; paid for self and family over three thousand dollars; deacon in the Baptist church. "G. D——. Three-fourths black; white-washer; from Kentucky; nine years free; paid

cently died, aged sixty; worth six thousand dollars." fifteen hundred dollars for self and family Professor Stowe says, "With all these, except G——, I have been, for some years, personally acquainted, and make my statements from my own knowledge."

The writer well remembers an aged colored woman, who was employed as a washerwoman in her father's family. The daughter of this woman married a slave. She was a remarkably active and capable young woman, and, by her industry and thrift, and the most persever-ing self-denial, raised nine hundred dollars for her husband's freedom, which she paid, as she raised it, into the hands of his master. She yet wanted a hundred dollars of the price, when ne died. She never recovered any of the mo-

rey.

These are but few facts, among multitudes which might be adduced, to show the self-denial, energy, patience, and honesty, which the slave has exhibited in a state of freedom.

And let it be remembered that these individ-uals have thus bravely succeeded in conquering for themselves comparative wealth and social position, in the face of every disadvantage and position, in the face of every disadvantage and discouragement. The colored man, by the law of Ohio, cannot be a voter, and, till within a few years, was even denied the right of testimony in legal suits with the white. Nor are these instances confined to the State of Ohio. In all States of the Union we see men, but yes terday burst from the shackles of slavery, who, by a self-educating force, which cannot be too much admired have risen to highly respectable stations in society. Pennington among clerygmen, Douglas and Ward among editors,

are will known instances.

If this persecuted race, with every discouragement and disadvantage, have done thus much, how much more they might do, if the Christian

how much more they might do, it the Christan church would act towards them in the spirit of her Lord!

This is an age of the world when nations are trembling and convulsed. A mighty influence is abroad, surging and heaving the world, as with an earthquake. And is America safe!

Every nation that carries is its bosom great and unredressed injustice has in it the elements. Every nation that carries is its bosom great and unredressed injustice has in it the elements of this last convulsion.

For what is this mighty influence thus rous-ing in all nations and languages those groan-ings that cannot be uttered, for man's freedom

and equality? O. Church of Christ, read the signs of the times! Is not this power the spirit of Him whose kingdom is yet to come, and whose will to be done on earth as it is in heaven?

be done on earth as it is in heaven?

But who may abide the day of his appearing? "for that day shall burn as an oven; and he shall appear as a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger in his right: and he shall break in pieces the oppressor."

Are not these dread words for a nation bearing in her bosom so mighty an injustice?

hearing in her bosom so mighty an injustice? Christians! every time that you pray that the kingdom of Christ may come, can you forget that prophecy associates, in dread followship, the day of vengeance with the year of his redeemed? deemed?

A day of grace is yet held out to us. Both North and South have been guilty before God; and the Christian church has a heavy account to answer. Not by combining together, to protect injustice and cruelty, and making a common capital of sin, is this Union to be saved—but by repentance, justice, and mercy; for, not surer is the eternal law by which the millstone sinks in the ocean, than that stronger law, by

The "Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin" must

spectacle. If it must be so, the country will have reason to tremble, when it remembers that the fate of nations is in the hands of One who is very pitiful, and of tender compassion.

Do you say, "We don't want them here; let them go to Africa?"

That the providence of God has provided a refuge in Africa, is, indeed, a great and noticeable fact; but that is no reason why the church of Christ should throw off that responsibility to this outcast race which her profession demands of her.

The "Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin" must now take leave of a wide circle of friends, whose faces she has never seen, but whose sympathies, coming to her from afar, have stimulated and cheered her in her work.

The thought of the pleasant family circles that she has been meeting in spirit weekly has been a constant refreshment to her, and she cannot leave them without a farewell.

In particular, the dear little children who have followed her story have her warmest love. Dear children, you will one day he men and

this outcast race which her profession demands of her.

To fill up Liberia with an ignorant, inexperienced, half-barbarized race, just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong, for ages, the period of struggle and conflict which attends the inception of new enterprises. Let the church of the North receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity, and then assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America.

Farewell, dear children, till we meet again. SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

THE OHIO DEMOCRACY AND WASHINGTON

The Sandusky County (Ohio) Democrat, a Democratic paper in Masillon, Ohio, comment-

Now, what is the position of the Ohio Democracy, Mr. Chase included? Does it infringe upon any right of the South, or the institution of slavery? No! It distinctly disclaims anything of the sort (by the way, a courtesy which never ought to have been expectations). tended, as no courtesies are ever returned in kind.) While disclaiming all desire to interfere with the domestic institutions and municipal and local regulations of the South, it sim-

ply declares—
"That the Democracy of Ohio do now, as they always have done, look upon slavery as an evil and unfavorable to the full developent of the spirit and practical benefits of free institutions; and that, entertaining these senti-ments, they will at all times feel it to be their duty to use all power given by the terms of the national compact, to prevent the increase, to mitigate, and finally eradicate the evil." We desire all readers to note that this lan-

guage is far milder, more moderate, than any on record from the pens of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, and our fathers, when writing on the "peculiar institution"—which we admit has become the "corner-stone" of political nominations—but must still be permitted to deny of "our free institutions." In the purer days of the Republic, all statesmen characterized slavery as an unmitigated curse; and there was not a dissenting voice to the vercouragement.

The initial letters alone are given. They the Ohio Democracy—more liberal, more dar-

> that we belong to the party, unless we repudi-ate certain heresies, which it says conflict with some antiquated and musty resolution passed at a Baltimore Convention on some occasion since the luckless hour when the administration of

the luckless hour when the administration of Government fell into the hands of Galphins, and second and third-rate men.

Now, we have but few words in reply to the modest charges and demands set forth, and they shall be spoken briefly and in plainness. First: the State of Ohio has 2,000,000 population—a tenth of the whites of the Union. Secondly: the State of Ohio has about 300,000 votars. Thirdly: the Democracy of Ohio have ters. Thirdly: the Democracy of Ohio have ters. Thirdly: the Democracy of Ohio have a clear majority of 15,000 over all, carrying 23 electoral votes—and the vote of the State is Anti-Whig, Anti-Administration, more than 40,000 votes. A few years since, the State of Ohio was reliably Whig by 20,000 or more. Its Democracy laid down a platform, we are aware, differing from that of some other States on slavery, the currency, freedom of public lands, homestead exemption, and almost every other question involving the progress of Democratic principles. Without desiring to boast, we affirm that the Democracy of Ohio now leads the van in progress, reform, and increase of numvan in progress, reform, and increase of numbers, and permanent strength. This is the result of its liberal principles, and nothing else.

The Democracy of Ohio seeks to lay down

no test for the Democracy of sister States, on the slavery or any other question. The Democ-racy of Ohio will submit to no tests sought to racy of Ohio will submit to no tests sought to be imposed by Presidential aspirants, puffed-up editors, or from any other quarter. We ask no aid, comfort, advice, or rebuke, from Washington or Memphis. All we ask is, to be let alone; and that those so desirous for our welfare and increase, will imitate our example in strengthening the cause of Democracy and liberal principles, on their own appropriate fields of labor—the necessities of which they ought, and it is to be hoped do, understand better than they do ours—with which they adjunter to they do ours-with which they volunteer to

ntermeddle.
In addition, we demand, a discontinuance of "Caudle lectures" from Washington and elsewhere; firmly believing that our party in this State is grounded on eternal principles of right—and can get along better without the aid of those who strive to teach us duty and manners, than they possibly can without our

Ohio is permanently Democratic for the next ten years, if rid of selfish influences from with-out. We have no desire to make it permanently Whig for the same period, by efforts to foist into high places of power those whom the peo-ple do not wish to exalt.

From the Norwalk (O.) Experiment-a Demo cratic paper.
WASHINGTON UNION—OHIO DEMOCRACY.

Some days since chance threw in our wayfor we have not the honor of an exchange—the Washington Union, of the 25th ult., containing Washington Union, of the 25th ult., containing an article, in reply to the Memphis Appeal, in which the editor, A. J. Donelson, undertakes to define the position of the Ohio Democracy, and also takes it upon him to repudiate our Senator in Congress, Hon. Salmon P. Chase. The Union asserts that the Ohio Democracy approves and conderses the Comprehense measures including asserts that the Onio Democracy approves and endorses the Compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law! Now so far from approving the measures in question, we aver that the Ohio Democracy distinctly disapprove them, and for the evidence of such disapproval, we refer to the last 8th of January convention, the largeand for the evidence of such disapproval, we refer to the last 8th of January convention, the largest delegated convention ever assembled in Ohio, when a direct attempt was made to endorse the Compromise measures, but failed by an overwhelming vote. This, with the remarked the composition of the subject of slavery, gave the most entire satisfaction. Upon the principle that whoever is not in favor of a measure must be opposed to it, we are quite willing to rest the position of the Ohio Democracy on this subject. In reference to the cavalier treatment of Senator Chase by the Union, we have only to say that Democracy in the latitude of Washington seems fast becoming a different thing from that taught by Thomas Jefferson. According to the obiter dictum of A. J. Donelson, no man can be a simon pure Democrat who does not include in his faith an approval of slavery! Instead of denying to Mr. Chase the fellowship of Democrats, we would be greatly obliged to the Union man if he would point out wherein our Senator, by either word, vote, or action, has ever swerved from a strict Democratic course. It

Democracy of Unio will ever honor him. A more essentially Whig measure never received the sanction of Congress, albeit many professed Democrats gave it their support. Clay and Webster were the authors of this infamous measure, and whoever heard of their originating anything that did not smack of Whiggery? The Union may take what position it chooses, but we object to its district to a proposition. but we object to its dictation to or proscription of others.

NO. 274.

From the Toledo (O.) Commercial-a Democratic paper.
SCHEMES TO DEFEAT THE DEMOCRACY.

A new political organization has been formed in nearly all of the slaveholding States, and this organization claims to hold in Missouri, Mississippi, &c., the political power of those States, giving evidence of their strength, in the late elections, by defeating the Democratic candidates for Senators and State officers. Flushed didates for Senators and State officers. Flushed with their recent triumphs in States that have heretofore been regarded as most reliably Democratic, the organs of this new party avow their purpose to control the action of the next Baltimore Convention, or, failing in this, to defeat the candidates which that convention may put in nomination. The terms on which they offer their suppose the in nomination. The terms on which they offer their support to the Democratic party are the most insolent that could be made. They are, that resolutions shall be adopted in the National Convention, making slave labor the paramount object of protection by the great National Democratic party, and that the Fugitive Slave Law and the other Compromise measures shall hereafter be made a test of membership to that party. When it is recollected that these measures originated with the present Federal Administration, and that they are opposed by the great body of the Democrats in Mississippi, Georgia, &c., as well as in Ohio, New York, and New England, it will be apparent that the insolence and arrogance of the proposition are insolence and arrogance of the proposition are only equalled by the infamous character of the measures which it is proposed to interpolate

into the Democratic creed.

We are compelled to speak plain upon this subject, as we see in these movements of the falsely styled Union party a deep laid plot to overthrow the Democracy in the next Presi-

dential election.

While the Fillmore Union party, in the States where they have overthrown Democratic ascendency, are occupying the position of "arm-ed neutrals," threatening an open alliance with the Federalists, if a "surrender" is not made to them, and the Democratic platform lowered to their, and the Democratic platform lowered to their standard—while these movements are going on in the States which have been, before this new organization sprung into existence, the most reliably Democratic, the Federalists, in such States as Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland, maintain the old Whig organization, and are now, with great unanimity, presenting Mr. Fillmore, as their Presidential candidate. If events shall prove him to be the most available candidate, he is and will be the first choice of the Fillmore Union party and the Fillmore Whig party of the South. These two parties are pursuing one and the same object, and are shaping their movements to have one and the same candidate for President. His election can The writer has given only a faint shadow, a second volume, was an incident that fell under the personal observation of a brother of the personal observation of a brother of the bouse, in New Orleans. From the same source was derived the character of the plantation, or a collecting of visiting his plantation, on a collecting for visiting his plantation, or a collecting which was like a blacksmith's hammer, or a nodule of iron, telling me that it was 'calloused with knocking down niggers.' When I daily and hourly acting an our shores, beneath felt as if I had escaped from an og. o's den.'

That the tracical fate of Tom also, has too South, is conspicuous in these assaults. A Savannah (Georgia) paper, more open and frank in its opposition to the policy of the Ohio Democracy, but not less hostile than the *Union*,

says:
"Ohio Free-Soilism in the Baltimore Convention.—It will be seen by the following statement, that the Free Soil Democracy of Ohio ex-

"The Ohio Democratic State Convention, at its session on the 9th of January, passed reso-lutions denouncing slavery as an evil which ought to be eradicated, and its extension pre-

ought to be eradicated, and its extension prevented by all lawful means, and at the same time appointed delegates to attend the National Democratic Convention."

Is any party at the South willing to co-operate with men making such professions, and yet exact from them no guarantee that our rights shall be respected? Would not such co-operation falsify our own professions, and give impunity to abolitionism? punity to abolitionism?

The exclusion of the Democratic delegates

from Ohio to the Baltimore Convention will hardly be resorted to, though this policy is recommended by an influential Southern jour-

But there is great danger that the new party movement at the South, relying upon the uni-ted support of that section, on account of its devotion to the slave interest, will be able by effecting divisions at the North, and desertions at the South, to defeat the Democratic candilates in the next, as it did in the last Presidential election.

Nothing short of a bold and fearless exposi-

tion of the corrupt but formidable combination

now going on to secure the perpetuation and ascendency of the Federal party in the National Government for another four years, can prevent such a calamity. From the Wyoming (New York) Mirror-Barnburner.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. The Democratic Convention, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, is to be held in Baltimore the first of June; the Whig Convention has not been called, but it will probably be in Philadelphia the 17th of June. Speculation is rife in both of the parties as to the Presidential candidates. Though many have been named, the number for which any chance is left seems to be reduced to three on each side—Cass, Douglas, and Buchanan, any chance is left seems to be reduced to three on each side—Cass, Douglas, and Buchanan, of the Democrats; and Fillmore, Webster, and Scott, of the Whigs. The warfare between the friends of each of these is becoming warm, and sometimes amusing. The friends of each claim that if their candidate shall be nominated, he will certainly be elected over all opposition, while if any other candidate of their party shall be nominated, he will as certainly be defeated. be nominated, he will as certainly be defeated. As between these candidates, our opinion is

be nominated, he will as certainly be defeated. As between these candidates, our opinion is that Cass among the Democrata, and Fillmore among the Whigs, stand the best chance.

But perhaps it matters not to our party which of these shall obtain the nomination. The question for Free-Soilers is, can they support any of them? The first question a voter should ask himself is, "will I make the slavery question the most important one in the issue?" and if he answer in the affirmative, the next is, "can I support either Cass, Douglas, Buchanan, Fillmore, Webster, or Scott?" We presume that, so far as the slavery question is concerned, the five first named of these individuals will be disposed of at once by every candid and intelligent Free-Soiler. What do we want a President to do in regard to slavery? We want that, instead of turning the influence of the office and the Government in favor of slavery, he should, so far as he can constitutionally, turn that influence against it. Will either of the individuals named do it? Two years ago, if a man was in favor of the Compromise he was condemned, not only by Free-Soilers, but by half of both the other parties in the free States; and if he favored the Fugitive Slave Law, he was looked upon with almost a feeling of contempt. Free-Soilers hold to these rules of judgment still. Let them try the candidates by this rule. Cass, Douglas, and Buchanan, always favored the Compromise, Fugitive Law and all; and the friends of Fillmore and Webster are almost in a quarrel about which is the father of those measures, the friends of each claiming that honor for their candidate.

Of course, these five are disposed of, so far as

Free-Soilers are concerned; and only Scott is left. What of him? He seems as yet to stand in a doubtful position; or rather his friends wish to make that position appear doubtful. We think, however, so far as the Compromise measures are concerned, there is but little doubt. Southern politicians almost universally concede that he was and is favorable to those measures; but they claim more of him—they concede that he was and is favorable to those measures; but they claim more of him—they claim that before they will give him their support he must come out openly and avowedly on their side. This he will probably refuse to do, and consequently will receive their united opposition. But will he show his hand, so that the friends of liberty at the North can have confidence in him? This is not at all likely, for two reasons: first, because, so far as we have the means of judging, his inclinations are all the other way; and, second, because if he should, it would kill the last lingering prospect he may have in the Whig party for a nomination.

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We conclude, then, that neither of the two leading parties will present a candidate that real Free-Soilers can support. What shall they do? This is an important question. We are glad to know that the Free Soil party is not disbanded—that it has a National Committee, and that Committee has determined to call a Convention to nominate candidates if necessary. We rejoice at this, because we expect that thousands, and perhaps hundreds of thou-sands of voters will have no party candidates that they can conscientiously vote for, unless the Free Soil party presents such candidates. We think, then, that the duty of those who We think, these, that the duty of those who place conscience above party organization is plain. It is, to be governed by high moral principles in their political action—to vote for no man who will not give his personal and official influence to advance those public measures which they consider paramount to all others; and if no party presents such candidates, then to vote for candidates of their own nomination. nation. There are probably hundreds of thou-sands of voters who make the slavery issues paramount to all others. Shall they vote for men who will go diametrically opposite to their principles on this question? We are not of those who believe the voter should require his candidate to agree with him on all questions; but he certainly should require such agreement on the main question; and especially so if the main question is more important than all others put together. Whatever course parties may take, we are confident there is a great work for the voters to do who are governed by high and immutable principle in their political conduct. Let them be true to their

From the Green Mountain (Vt.) Freeman. APATHY OF FREE-SOILERS.

Many leading men of the old parties have with an air of triumph asserted within our hearing, during the last six months, that "the Free Soil party was now a dead concern," that "the spirit which once animated it in opposi-tion to slavery and its aggressions was obvioustion to slavery and its aggressions was obviously gone, and that a great majority of its members were evidently sick of the subject, and only waiting for a decent opportunity to abandon the cause altogether." Free-Soilers and Antislavery men, what say you to such charges? Do you deny the impeachment? "Certainly we do," will doubtless be your response; "we are as firm in our principles as ever." As a general thing, we believe you; but are you not, by your apathy, these days giving your opponents too much cause for these disparaging imputations? We greatly fear so; but from what cause can such apathy proceed? Are the great principles of freedom and right less important now than formerly? Is the declaration of Independence, alike the foundation of our truly national platform, and the Government under which we live, less sacred and obligatory? Are which we live, less sacred and obligatory? Are its principles less violated, and the rights it secures less endangered? Is the Proviso, or Jefferson Ordinance, less loudly demanded? Is the slave power weaker, or its aggressions less alarming? Is our Government less perverted by its influence? Is the commercial capital of by its influence? As the commercial capital of the country less subservient to its designs and less used in its widely extended machinations?

No, no; a thousand times no! The great

of freedom and right are the same, founded on the rock of eternal justice, and their splendors are every day made more glorious and striking in the vile fogs by which the minions of slavery hope to eclipse them.

The Declaration of Independence still stands
the admitted creed of the nation, and its principles guarantied by the Constitution are still as obligatory as the solemn oaths we have taken to support it can make them; while the great principles of both those instruments have been principles of both those instruments have been violated during the two past years with a bold-ness and extent that marks the period as an era of national curruption and disgrace. If the adoption of the Jefferson Ordinance was called for in 1848, as the great masses of the North almost universally conceded, it is a hundred fold more demanded now, when nearly every square mile of all the territory acquired from Mexico is being peopled with slaves. If the slave power was then deemed strong, and its ons alarming, what should be thought aggressions alarming, what should be thought of it now, when what was comparatively but a rivulet has swelled to a dark and turbid river, threatening to inundate the whole land and overthrow the very citadel itself of American freedom? If our Government was then thought too subservient to the slave power, how should it be looked upon now, when its almost undivided energies are seen employed in strengthening that power, and helping it to es-tablish its complete ascendency over both our National and State Institutions? Nor is this all; the slave power and the Governmenta power have conspired to enlist a third—the which, neutral then, is fast becoming more difficult to contend with successfully than either the others, or perhaps both combined.

If all this be so, have Free-Soilers nothing to

Is not what might once perhaps be a pr vate moral sentiment become a duty involvi public action now? Have their oaths to sur port the Constitution no connection with their duty of public action under such circumstances? Ponder it, freemen of the North—make it a subject of your pillow reflections, and decide for yourselves whether apathy and indifference can be longer indulged in, even to say nothing of the wrongs of slavery consistent with your love of a free Government, and your sworn duty to maintain it; and whether, finally, you can be longer inactive and be held guiltless at the bar of conscience, or escape the curses of your posterity, for what may be forever lost through

CALL FOR AN ANTI-SLAVERY CHRISTIAN CON-

Christianity is the remedy provided by Goo for all the wants of the world—political, social, and spiritual! The church of Jesus Christ is the divinely appointed agency to apply this remedy: This she does by preaching the truth, and by the consistent holy lives of her

That this is the case, so far as regards the larger popular organizations of the land, is but too manifest. There is not only a great want of pointedness in their testimony against the great sins of the country, but to an alarming extent

put forth a special effort to stay the tide of pro-slavery and other corrupting influences that seem to be desolating the popular churches of the land, and sweeping away the very foundations of morality, it is resolved to hold an Anti-Slavery Christian Convention in Cambridge, on the first Tuesday of May, at 3 o'clock P. M.

The object of the Convention is to device the best means of bringing the moral power of the church to bear in the overthrow of the strong holds of sin, and the dissemination of a

pure Gospel.

The call is extended to all the Minister and members of all evangelical churches, no engaged in the practice of alaveholding.

WM. WISHARD, JAMES R. DOIG. GEO. RICHEY. LUKE DEWITT, THOMAS M. FINNEY, D. CRAIG, THOMAS MERRILL, and many other P. S. Free Presbyterian, and other pa

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1852.

Subscribers who do not file the Era, and ve numbers 261, 262, 264, and 265, on hand, will confer a favor by remailing them to this

OLE BULL .- Of the Concert given by this vonderful performer, our friend, Grace Greenwood, discourses at large in her letter.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

Mrs Stowe has at last brought her great work to a close. The last chapters appear in this week's Era. With our consent, the Boson publishers issued an edition of five thousand on the 20th of March, but it has already been exhausted, and another edition of five thousand has appeared.

We do not recollect any production of an merican writer that has excited more profound and general interest. Since the comcement of its publication in our columns we have received literally thousands of testimonials from our renewing subscribers, to its unurpassed ability.

We hope that this grand work of fiction may the nomination of the General, it holds the ot be the last service to be rendered by Mrs. following language: Stowe to the cause of Freedom, through the columns of the National Era.

Copies of this work are for sale at this office Price, in paper covers, \$1; cloth, \$1.50; cloth full gilt, \$2.

Persons at a distance of not over 500 miles can have this work mailed to them, free of postage, on addressing L. Clephane, at this office, and enclosing \$1 in money and 24 cents in post office stamps; over 500 miles, the postage will be forty-eight cents.

We shall soon commence the publication of new novel, from the German of Jeannie Marie, entitled, Rank and Nobility, translated for the National Era by Dr. ATLEE, of Philadelphia, whose death is just announced in the papers of that city. Dr. Atlee was an excelent scholar, a man of pure taste, sound principles, and large benevolence. The translation nounced is his last literary labor, and the work is one full of rich and varied interest, and abounding in the noblest truths. It will probably run through twelve or thirteen numbers of the Era.

Beside this, we have on hand several other contributions of great value, which will appear as fast as we can make room for them

THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE WHIG

The time for the National Whig Convention s not yet fixed. Some doubt whether such a Convention will be held at all; but we do not agree with them. Politicians at Washington nay hesitate; the party is decided. Many State Conventions have already appointed lelegates, and the Whig Press seems unani

As to the candidates, there is less trouble from personal preferences than we find among Democrats. Only three are mentioned-Fill nore, Scott, and Webster, and their friends, are severally forbearing towards each other, stu diously avoiding comparisons calculated to pro voke incurable animosities. To this remark the letter of Mr. Clay furnishes an exception expressing, as it does, doubts of the ability of either Webster or Scott, to discharge the duties of the Presidential office, with a wisdom and energy equal to those displayed by the

All three substantially occupy the same position in relation to the Compromise and Fugitive Law, only that of Gen. Scott not having been demonstrated by acts, or defined authoritatively by his own words, has enough uncertainty about it to give him the benefit of a doubt in the eyes of those Northern men, whose maxim is, to hoose the least of evils For this reason he is the favorite of the Northern Whigs, as Mr. Fillmore is of the Southern. Mr. Webster is not the first choice of either; but in the event of a fixed disagreement between the two sec_ tions, may slip into the candidature.

The fear that Mr. Fillmore might be utterly rejected by the Whigs of New York, is all that throws a cloud over the prospects of his nomi nation. Could the Convention persuade itself that he would have at least an equal chance with the Democratic candidate, of obtaining the vote of the State, it would nominate him.

With Fillmore or Webster for the standard pearer, the Whig party could go into the Presidential contest without any "platform." Their acts have not been done in a corner. No words could make their principles and policy better known than they are. The South could trust them-the North could not deceive itself in relation to them. The supporters of either would by that act demonstrate beyond a doubt their oyalty to the Compromise and Fugitive Law.

But Southern Whigs are anxious for success Patronage has almost as many attractions for them as principle. They cannot shut their eyes to the fact that these, their special favortes, are of doubtful political standing at the North-that probably neither could command the full Whig strength of that section. What shall they do? Accept General Scott? The politicians would not hesitate, but could they rally the masses of the Southern Whigs in his support? And what to them is more important, could they maintain their own position at home, under such leadership? With Scott, undefined and unpledged, as Taylor was, never! But give them a platform satisfactory o the Slave Power, let the General plant him self on that, and they would be safe. Conmight divest their candidate of his strength in the North, and so lose all that induced them to accept him in the place of Fillmore or Web-

isfy the South, by indirect information concerning Gen. Scott's opinions, which, it is hoped may disarm the jealousy of one section without provoking the displeasure of the other. In Congress there are Southern men, who affirm positively the adherence of the General to the

Compromise, and no Northern member denies it. There are Southern newspapers that do the same, and no Northern newspaper denies it. The most explicit testimony we have is that of a Washington correspondent of the Nashville Banner, which we copy from the Balti-

Gen. Scott and the Compromise—The General's Position Defined.—A Washington correspondent of the Nashville Banner recently had an interview with Gen. Scott, who, it is alleged. is indignant at the charge made in some of the newspapers that his position in regard to the Compromise measures is ambiguous. According to this writer, Gen. Scott, in his con-

versation with him, said:

"How can any one doubt my past or present support of the Compromise measures? Did I not, at the first meeting of the friends of the Union, held in Castle Garden, New York, published. nce in the city of New York.

country some little renown and glory. These, however, might have been won by other men, or if lost, would have been repaired by the indomitable chivalry of our brave soldiery. But the great battle which you are fighting involves all that is glorious or improved of the present and fishes! This is the Tailons. all that is glorious or immortal of the present and the past—all that is dear and hopeful of tion, not ours. Now, what does this mean? and the past—all that is dear and hopeful of the future. It is the battle of the preservation of the Union and the Constitution—the perpetuity of our republican institutions. I trust in God that you may be successful in your patriotic undertaking; for I most heartily approve of all the measures of your bill, and will give to them a cordial and energetic support."

He also addressed a similar letter, it is said, to Mr. Webster, after reading his great speech. According to the writer, General Scott also remarked to him: "Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Webster, or whoever you may be, give us. Whigs of a certain stripe, fair chance at the offices, and you shall have our votes, no matter what you believe, even though you hold the doctrines of devils. The editor, in another part of the same article, avows his own purpose, and the reason

therefor, as follows: "If the States which can vote for no Whig remarked to him:
"Did I not, during their discussion in Congress, personally exert my influence for their passage through both Houses? Besides, there is extant the most incontestable proof, that had it not been for my humble aid and influence,

candidate shall, under the vicious machinery of a National Convention, insist effectually on putting Mr. Fillmore upon us for another term, we expect to support him. For, while term, we expect to support him. For, while we cannot approve his proscriptive and irritating course on the Compromise question, we do not hope for any practical alternative but a candidate equally objectionable on that head, while bitterly, fatally hostile to those vital principles of Public Policy—Protection, River and Harbor Improvement, &c., &c.,—wherein we heartily agree with Mr. Fillmore. We expect hereafter, as hereafter to give our vote. the Compromise measures could not, by a vote of from five or ten, have passed the House of is to throw doubt on the position of General Scott, does not question the credibility of this pect hereafter, as heretofore, to give our vote and efforts to whatever candidates, among statement; and the New York Tribune admits that it has no reason to doubt that he was "an those having a chance of election, are commended to our judgment as likely, if chosen, to do the most good attainable." early, efficient, and most zealous supporter of the Compromise." In a late editorial, favoring

Thus speaks the leading anti-slavery editor

of the Whig Party. "For, be it ever considered, we are not asking you to support a Higher Law candidate—an opponent of the Compromise. Your organs are never weary of asserting that Gen. Scott was an early, efficient, and most zealous supporter of the Compromise, which we have no accessor or said to dema." In view of the facts mentioned, have we not

Even the Washington Union, anxious as

Will these indirect concessions to the South

satisfy its requirements? Not at all. The

National Convention will select either Fillmore

or Webster; or, if constrained to take Scott,

saddle him with the Compromise and Fugitive

Suppose our prediction prove false-suppose

Scott be nominated, without a platform, and

that he should resolutely refuse to embarrass

himself with any pledges; the Democratic can-

didate, on the contrary, being pledged openly by his character, his declarations, and the action

of the Democratic Convention to the Compromise

and Fugitive Law-what would be the results

The loss of the Southern Whig vote, either by

junction with the Democratic, or by its being

cast for another candidate. The concentration

Whig affinities, who have for years past been

accustomed to act with their party, only

when it involved no conflict with their princi-

ples on the Slavery question. Such men as Mr.

Campbell of Ohio, Messrs. Mann and Fowler,

of Massachusetts, and others of similar views,

would probably enlist actively under such a

standard-bearer. Anti-Slavery Democrats, ac-

customed to independent political action, might

call another Convention, and nominate a can-

didate of their own, who would draw his sup-

port from the Democratic ranks. If they did

not do this, some would vote for Scott, some, for

the Free Soil candidate, should one be in the

field, some, stay at home. The Free Soil party

would find it exceedingly difficult amidst such

distracting events, to make headway with an

ndependent nomination. The Democratic par-

ty might be defeated, and Scott be elected by

eems to us, can doubt, that the nominee of

Law, what then may we expect? The Whigs

their vote. The Whigs of the North, as a Party,

would sustain the nomination. Of this there

can be no doubt. Where is there a leading

Whig journal or politician at the North, who

hints at resistance to such a nomination,

should it be made? The Whig State Conven-

tions in the free States have abstained from any

expression of hostility to the Compromise, and

have announced their determination to support

the nominees of the National Convention, who-

ever they might be. In Congress, Southern

Whigs have insisted upon the disqualification

for the Presidency of any man not committed

to the Compromise, and no Northern Whig has

ebuked such proscription. A regular caucus

of the Whig members of the House, as a pre-

iminary to the business of organization, adopt-

ed the Compromise and Fugitive Law, as a part

of the basis of party action, and only two or

three Whig members seceded; while not one

in either branch of Congress has since then en-

tered a formal protest against the proceedings,

if we may except Messrs. Campbell and Fow-

ler. Mr. Seward, a man looked up to by the

anti-slavery Whigs of New York, has been si-

lent the whole of this session, intimating no in-

tention to resist the incorporation of the pro-

slavery test in the party creed. That he

will oppose it, we have no doubt; but that

he will hazard the union of the party on

understands the theory of political action

as held by Mr. Seward, believes. There is not

the slightest ground for supposing that he will not abide by the action and nominations of the

National Whig Convention, whatever they may

Then take the New York Tribune, the or-

gan pre-eminently of the anti-slavery portion of

the Whig Party: it has frankly avowed its

urpose to support either Mr. Fillmore or Mr.

Webster, should either be the choice of the

Convention. Nay, more than this-the editor.

in his paper of March 20th, goes into an argu-

to Mr. Fillmore because of his approval of the

"If that were the difficulty, it would be

cution arms the slave-hunter with certain pow

ers-that the whole subject is beset with

ise Whigs in the State, and we presume

eason of their opposition? Listen:

"Why, then, is Mr. Fillmore obnoxion

rould be again.

Compromise measures." He says:

nent to show that "New York is not opposed

But suppose, as no intelligent observer

electoral vote of the North.

geon or mich to dena "

sufficient ground for the prediction, that no natter what the action and nominations of the National Whig Convention, the Whigs of the North, as a Party, will abide by them? Is this the ground that all Whig anti-slavery men intend to occupy? What say those gentlemen in Congress who have hitherto so brave ly stood by the cause of Human Rights? Are Messrs. Stevens, Howe, Allison, Mann, Fowler, Scudder, Campbell, Newton, Welch, Sackett Schoolcraft, Walbridge, prepared to adopt the policy of Mr. Seward and the New York Tribune? If not, what do they intend to do? That is a question which thousands of voters, indisposed to follow the lead of the New York Tribune and the famous Whig caucus, would like to hear answered. Slaveholding members rise in their places, explicitly state their demands, announce distinctly what they will, and what they will not do; but thus far we have heard but two members from the North who, in behalf of themselves and their constituents. upon Scott of the entire Whig vote of the have announced distinctly their purpose. We North, making a discount in some of our large mean, Messrs. Townshend and Giddings. How cities for a few discontented Hunkers. The much longer is this Northern reserve to be support of all those Anti-Slavery voters, of kept up?

SPIRITUAL DESPOTISM

The active opposition which Kossuth, his mission, and the cause of Freedom as represented by Hungary, have encountered from the Catholics of this country, especially the naturalized Irish and the Priests, has opened the eyes of many to the inherent repugnance be-

tween Democracy and Papal Authority. Until lately, the Catholic priesthood and prehad made no decided political demonstration. Their dogmas concerning the supremacy of the Church, and the universal authority of the Spiritual Power having been confined to their religious fellowship, excited no uneasiness, no comment. So long as those of our countrymen who chose to intrust the priest with the keeping of their consciences retained their independence in civil and political affairs, it was scarcely a matter of public concern. But when their religious notions began to assume a political form, when their press and priesthood the Whig National Convention be Mr. Fillannounced doctrines hostile to the Democratic more, or Mr. Webster, or General Scott, on the Principle, arrayed themselves on the side of enerous sympathies of the laity, their and pretensions became a fair subject for po of the South would remain united, and increase litical discussion.

In England, Kossuth was received with en thusiasm by all classes except the Catholics The Irish people generally manifested the greatest coldness towards him. In America h was met by the open denunciations of Bishop Hughes, and of all the Catholic journal throughout the Union; and our Irish Catholies. with their flaming hatred of Tyranny, mani fested bitter animosity against this refuged from Austrian Despotism-a fact which reveals their deplorable vassalage to priestly authority. They have not been content with a simple expression of disapprobation, but have followed him up with the most unscrupulous assaults upon his reputation, upon the cause of Hun gary, upon the revolutionary movements Europe generally; and they have boldly enlisted in the defence of Austrian, French and Russian Despotism. The Pope has been justified in his war not only upon the liberties of his subjects, but against the rights of Protestants in Catholic countries. Louis Napoleo has been pronounced an agent from Heaver and his usurpation a blessing. Austria has been extolled as the pillar of order, the bulwark against Anarchy and Red Republicanism

In opposing Democracy, they can hardly in America that stands up for Despotism, cannot be loyal to this country. Having learned the point of extreme opposition, nobody who to disparage its institutions, it may be expected to defame its character. The New York Tribune, after having quoted the Freeman' Journal as having endorsed Radetzky, Haynau Nicholas, &c., adds :

"Another journal, Die Katholische Kirchen zeitung, which bears upon its face the declara-tion that it is published with the approbation Archbishop Hughes and other eminent pre-

"'Austria is a small, insignificant spot o the map, compared with the gigantic greatness of America, says Daniel Webster. Yes, on the map, that is the fact. But in the world, in military, intellectual, and material relations, in might and influence, Austria is, in reality, gigantic; while in the same reality, America, vast as it is on the map, is but a small spot in comparison. And against this Austria Daniel Webster proposes to make war by sea and comparison. And against this Austria Daniel Webster proposes to make war by sea and land! In what does the greatness of America consist? 1. In the tremendous extent of its forests and swamps. 2. In the terribly immense tedium of its monotony, in which it resembles the desert expanse of the ocean, where he who has seen one thing has seen everything.

3. In the gigantic stupidity of its conceit and wind-bagginess. 4. In the tremendous greatness of its humbug; only simple children and ignorant fops allow themselves to be humbugged. But the true greatness of America, how is it with that? It is humbug."

Not to more dealemation is their hostility to from formidable. There are very many of our citizens who do not approve those measures, and who especially regard the Fugitive Slave Law as a wanton, useless, galling outrage on the Free spirit and humane instincts of the North. Yet the great mass of those who thus difficulties—and they have never attempted to make acquiescence in or hostility to the Fugitive Slave Law a test of political orthodoxy. At our two State Elections, which have transpired since the Compromise measures were passed, Whig friends of those measures were elected to Congress and to important State offices by the votes of Whigs personally adverse to those measures—and so on the other side. The exceptions to this rule have been few and local. Mr. Ullmann, a warm, open, leading Com-

Not to mere declamation is their hostility Democracy to be confined. They are organizing it would appear, to obtain the control of the ballot-box. We copy the following state from the Cincinnati Nonpareil:

Mr. Ullmann, a warm, open, leading Com-promise man, was supported last fall by at least forty-nine out of every fifty anti-Com-"Startling Movements .- Our readers recollect an article which we gave a few day ago, from the Louisville Democrat, wherein was stated than an organization of a body Roman Catholics in Indiana had determine to oppose any man for public office who had favored the cause of Kossuth. The Times of There is a revelation for you. The Whigs of favored the cause of Kossuth. The Times of last evening says a letter has been received by a gentleman of this city recently, from a friend in Indiana, which states that very many Anti-Hungarian organizations, similar in origin, character, and objects, as the one referred to by the Louisville Democrat, and copied by us, exist, and are being formed all over that State, by the suggestion and advice of J. B. Purcell, archbishop of Cincinnati.

"It is also stated as a fact beyond question, that there was a nopular meeting on Tuesday." cause he approves of the Compromise and Fugitive Law. Not on the ground of any Priniple do they oppose him. What, then, is the

that there was a popular meeting on Tuesday evening last, in the basement of the Cathedral of this city, of Irish and American Catholics, to consider the propriety of forming political as sociations to defeat any and all candidates for office, who sympathize with Kossuth and hi

"Another circumstance of considerable weight seems to corroborate the stories of active or-ganizations among the Catholics, destined for political effect. Judge Warden has just resign-ed his seat on the bench, to which he was elected last October, and rumor says he is to take the editorial charge of a political paper in this city. Of this manœuvring we shall endeavor to keep our readers advised, while we meet the

parties engaged in it as becomes the spirit of a press, free and American." This does not surprise us. Kossuth is regarded by the Irish Catholics here, as he was in Ireland. Richard D. Webb, the able Dublin correspondent of the National Anti-Slavery

"In Ireland, the enthusiasm on his behalf "In Ireland, the enthusiasm on his benair has been but feebly manifested, chiefly because he is the sworn enemy of despotic Austria, and despotic Austria is the main stay of the Papacy. The subjugation of Hungary has been followed by the persecution of the Protestants and the ascendency of the Jesuits in that country; and as Kossuth has mentioned this fact in his speeches, he is denounced as a bigot by the Romish priests, who abhor freedom of conscience so much that they hate a man who dares to complain of being denied its exercise. The character of the reigning American statesmen, and the sympathy with despotism inseparable from the principle-and interests of the Romish priesthood, (in America as well as everywhere else,) fully account for any calumnies that may have been circulated against Kossuth. The Dublin papers in their interest (one in particular, the Freeman's Journal) have done all they could to depreciate him, calling him a bigot and a rebel, and declaring that the condition of Hungary under Austria was superior to that of Ireland under England."

The political movement against Intervention originated by the Catholic priests solely on religious grounds, is, we fear, but the beginning of troubles. It is the first essay of Spiritual Despotism in the field of American politics. The power it has been able to wield in uniting the Catholics as a body against Kossuth and his mission, and in the defence of Austria, will embolden it to further manifestations. With o large a body of voters obeying implicitits bidding, it will be able, by adroit management, should the political world continue be engrossed with the questions and schemes which now agitate it, to acquire a fearful asendency. Certainly, with its enormous preasions, it cannot remain willingly subordinate to the Civil Power, without treason to itself. Claiming absolute supremacy in all the relations of men, it is bound by the law of its eing to assert the claim, whenever it can make good, or pave the way for its recognition. Some of its supporters consider it premature now to urge its pretensions in all their length and breadth: but others are more audacious Listen to Brownson, a man whose anti-republican lectures in St. Louis and Cincinnati have lately been heartily endorsed by the Catholic ournals of the West:

"The only true policy, the only true wisdom n our times, is in exalting the chair of Peter, and energetically asserting the pontifical authority and the universal supremacy of the spiritual order. The salvation of the world, in ore senses than one, depends on the Holy See, confess, then, that we are grieved to see distin-guished Catholic statesmen searching history to find examples of resistance to the Papal authority by the temporal power, and concluding from them that a man may be a Catholic and also loyal to his temporal sovereign. Let us, in God's name, have no more of this. Let us dare to assert the truth, in the face of the lying world, and, in-stead of pleading for our church at the bar of the State, summon the State itself to plead at the bar of the church, its divinely constituted judge. The State may become enraged, may confiscate our goods, prohibit our worship, and shut up our churches and religious houses, imprison, our churches and religious houses, imprison, exile, or massacre us; but what then? Such more, or Mr. Webster, or General Scott, on the platform of the Compromise and the Fugitive Despotism, and succeeded in repressing the so long as Catholics retained their fervor, to inhe church or retard her progres things are powerful against us only where our faith is weak, and our love waxes cold. Who has God on his side has no occasion to fear men or devils."

That is the true doctrine of the Papacythe universal supremacy of the spiritual order," a loyal submission and filial obedience in ALL THINGS to the successor of St. Peter!" The Church, supreme over the State! The Pope. the master of the People! This doctrine is openly inculcated in the United States, by eading Catholics, sustained by Catholic journals, assented to, so far as we can see, by our Catholic citizens. What is there in a Spiritual Order holding such a doctrine, animated by such a spirit, to restrain it from the attempt to obtain supremacy in politics? These political organizations against European Freedom are out incipient steps to more comprehensive and formidable combinations. What may be expected, should its universal supremacy in this ountry become realized, may be inferred from the following declaration of an out-spoken Catholic, in the Rambler, (1st July, 1851,) one of the leading Catholic organs of England:

"As the most ultra-tolerant of talkers have no true belief in their own professions, so they never give Catholics credit for sincerity when they fall in with the fashionable phraseolgy of the day, and protest that they would tolerate every man's creed to the fullest extent. Certainly they are marvellously astonished to hear these novel views proceeding from the mouths of the children of those who slew the Calvinists n Holland and the Albigenses in France, and filled Smithfield with fagots and flames." *

* "Never do we fall into a more grievous error than when we think to conciliate Protestants by donning a pseudo-Protestant mask. A more suicidal policy was never devised than that which is adopted by that strange lusus natura, a 'liberal Catholic.' The acuteness of

play, and detects the sham." * * *

"Counting then the concealment of our true opinions as the most unwise of policies, we have ever avowed our conviction that in certain circumstances what is called 'persecution' is both lawful and expedient." * * * "To persecute Catholicism is to sin against Almighty God, to persecute Protestantism, or Judaism, or infidelity, is perfectly right, provided only it be so judiciously planned and executed as not to de-feat its own ends."

This might be deemed the rant of a crazbigot, were it not for the fact that the doctrin thus boldly announced, is at this very tim practically carried out by the Pope, in Spain. Tuscany, and his own dominions.

What say our Catholic countrymen to thes things? Do they concur in the dogmas of Spiritual Despotism inculcated by Brownson?

Do they hold that the Spiritual Order ought to be supreme-that the Pope has the supreme right to regulate the civil affairs of this country, to determine their political relations, to shape and control their political action? Do they say that persecution for opinion's sake is right, except when it is directed against Catholics? To what power, as American citizens, do they owe allegiance-to the Pope of Rome, or to the Government of their country? The recent abominable teachings of their priests and newspapers give these questions an importance never before attached to them.

JOHN RANDOLPH BENTON died at St. Louis

young gentleman, the only son of Col. Thomas H. Benton. He was but twenty-two years of age, and was cut down in the very bloom of health and manhood, giving out every promise of a long and distinguished future."

The Times says: "On Tuesday, the 10th, he was one of the myriad that met Kossuth; on Thursday, the 12th, he was at the St. Louis University, arranging with the President for some branches of study on which he was eager to enter; that with the was taken ill.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

The conduct of the Washington Union wards the Democracy of Ohio and its representative in the Senate, Mr. Chase, upon which we lately commented, has awakened indigna tion among the liberal Democrats of that State. On our first page, we republish spirited articles from several of their newspapers, expressing their views with great freedom. They are signs not to be disregarded.

THE AMISTAD CASE.

The old Amistad claim, repeatedly rejected in both branches of Congress, is again brought forward. Monday, in the Senate, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, reported a bill from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to indemnify the owners of the Amistad, who were adjudged by our Supreme Court violators of the laws of Spain, and therefore not the owners of the negroes they

Mr. Mason urged it with much earnest ness, and strove to have it made a special order; but Mr. Hale by a timely movement, accompanied with a few pertinent remarks, completely baffled him, and the bill took its place among the general orders, to come up, nobody knows when.

THE SENATE AND THE RIGHT OF PETITION Last Monday, in the Senate, Mr. Walker of Visconsin presented the petition of citizens of Milton, Rush county, Wisconsin, signed by almost all the inhabitants of the place, praying the repeal of the Fugitive Law. On his motion, it was laid on the table. Had Mr. Walker sent the petition back to his constituents his treatment of them would have been just as respectful. The plain duty of a repre sentative of the People is, to secure a respect-

ful consideration of their requests. Subsequently, Mr. Seward of New York pro sented four petitions of citizens of the State of New York, and a memorial of the Calen Quar. terly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friend of Pennsylvania, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and one petition of inhabtants of Marcellus, New York, praying that Congress may institute measures for the extine tion of Slavery in the United States; which he moved might be received, and, without reading, might be referred to the Committee on the

Mr. Mason of Virginia somewhat loftily re marked that he would not interfere with the motion of the Senator from New York. His object, we presume, was, to arouse some of th Northern Allies" to their duty, so that they might relieve Southern gentlemen of the disareeable necessity of attending to such offer

New Hampshire furnished a fit instrumer for the work. Mr. Norris of that State, whose election some years ago to the Senate was hailed by the Free-Soilers of Lowell, Massachusetts, with acclamations, and signalized by the firing of a hundred guns, rose with alacrity a the intimation of his superior, demanded division of the question, and then moved that the memorials relating to the Fugitive Law. that highly humane and popular measure, be laid upon the table. The motion was decided in the affirmative, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Badger, Bayard, Borland, Bradbury, Brodhead, Brooke, Cass, Clarke, Clemens, Cooper, Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Geyer, Gwin, Hunter, Jones of Iowa, Jones of Tennessee, King, Mallory, Mangum, Mason, Miller, Nor-ris, Rusk, Sebastian, Spruance, Underwood, and Walker—33.
Nays—Messrs. Chase, Davis, Dodge of Wis

consin, Fish, Foot, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Sumner, Upham, and Wade—11.

Maine and New Hampshire were divided Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio embracing a white population equal to that o the entire South, had the honor of casting an unbroken vote in favor of the right of petition and against a law disgraceful to a free country. Clarke of Rhode Island has gone over to the Pro-Slavery party, along with Walker of Wisconsin, and Miller of New Jersey. James of Rhode Island, and Smith of Connecticut, did the Republic that he, a foreigner, had the efnot vote. Douglas and Cass, the representatives respectively of what is styled "Young Democracy," and "Old Fogies," voted, as usual,

with the Slavery party. But Mr. Norris had not done. The petition praying Congress to institute measures for the extinction of Slavery (is not the Ebony line proposed by some as a measure of this kind?) was vet to be disposed of. Mr. Norris moved that it be laid upon the table : but his eagerness to do service led him to commit a blunder. which Mr. King, the President, kindly suggested to him. "Does the Senator from New Hampshire," said he, "object to the reception of the memorial, and move to lay the motion to receive on the table?" "I object to the reception," was the answer. In the conversation that sprung up, there was danger that Mr. N. might escape the responsibility, of the assault on the right of petition; and Mr. Hale put the objection was made by the Chair, or by tion his rights, and to designate him contempt the Senator from New Hampshire. "By the Senator," was the reply. The question was then taken on laying on the table the motion to receive the petition, and it was decided as. vade the masses of our population. They wel-

YEAS-Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Badger, YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Badger, Bayard, Borland, Bradbury, Brodhead, Brooke, Cass, Clarke, Clemens, Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Fish, Geyer, Gwin, Hamlin, Hunter, Jones of Iowa, Jones of Tennamin, Hunder, Jones of Town, Jones of Telensee, King, Mallory, Mangum, Mason, Miller, Norris, Rhett, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Spruance, Underwood, and Walker—36.

Nays—Messrs. Dodge of Wisconsin, Foot, Hale, Seward, Sumner, and Wade—6.

Soil Whig from New York, Mr. Fish, voting this time in disregard of the right of petition. Mr. Hale followed with a memorial again the Fugitive Law, which was also laid upon the table. On presenting it, he made a statement which places the submissive Mr. Norris and his friends in a very disagreeable predica-

So the petition was not received the Fr

"I wish to call the attention of the Senate before they pass upon the petition, to one fact which occurred upon the floor of the Senate some two years since. The honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Butler,] not now in his seat, gave notice, upon a certain occasion, that he would never again object to the reception of one of these petitions. The reasons for that announcement I do not remember that he gave. And on the same occasion the honorable Senator from Virginia, [Mr. Mason,] now in his seat, said that he would never interfere with any of these petitions that might be presented by—such as l. And I believe in accordance with these declarations of those Senafter the interests of the institution of those who underfored since?

Mr. Mason assented to the correctness of the

Here, then, is a fact to be pondered. After Messrs. Butler and Mason, of the South, have given up their war against the right of petition, and announce their purpose no longer to interfere with the disposition of Anti-Slavery etitions, Mr. Norris, a Northern man, elected to the Senate with the general understanding that he was a Free-Soil Democrat, is the first man to outrage this great constitutional right performing, with shameless zeal, work for Southers men which they are at last ashamed

FREE SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENT. ATIVES-PRESIDENT MAKING

The House of Representatives has so hampered itself with complicated rules respecting ebate, that but one certain mode is now left which members can express their opinions reely upon public affairs-that is, when in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, it takes up for consideration any paricular bill. Then, a member, so fortunate as to have the floor, may discuss any topic he pleases within the range of human thought, without saying a single word upon the bill, or making the slightest allusion to it. Suppose it be a proposition to make an appropriation for the extension of the wings of the Capitol or for the printing of the census, he may talk on coalition, secession, slavery, intervention, the tariff, railroads, or anything that may suit his fancy. Of course, the usage is liable to great abuse, but without it, there would not be a chance for even so much discussion as the new French Constitution allows to the ciphers who figure in the Assembly. Repeated efforts have been made by members opposed to agitation, to take away this last privilege of free debate, but thus far, fortunately, without success. Better have too much talk and too little action. than action in the dark, without any freedon

The discussions in the House for some time past have been chiefly of a political character. turning for the most part on the Presidential Question. The remainder of the session will be occupied in a similar way; for Congress seems to think it has quite as much to do as the People, with the business of President This is all wrong, but how can the evil be

remedied? Every four years a President has to be made. For the two years preceding the election, politicians are plotting to carry off the prize, and for the two succeeding years ontriving how they shall make the most out of it. But, it is from the politicians that the People generally choose their representatives, and in this way Congress is converted into a political caucus, to devise schemes for filling the Presidency and distributing Executive patronage. The interests involved are often of personal nature. One desires a Secretary ship, or a mission abroad, or some appoint ment more profitable than a seat in Congress: another seeks office for a friend or relative; an other expects to become the agent for the dispensation of patronage in his State or District, whereby he can secure position at home.

The evil might be corrected to a certain extent by certain amendments of the Constitution. For example, extend the Presidential term to six years, and Congress will have more time to bestow upon public business. Make the President ineligible for a second term, and he becomes more independent, and having no induce ment to enlist members in the support of his particular interest. Forbid members of Congress to accept any office from the Chief Excutive during the term for which they are elected, and for two years thereafter. Such a restriction would greatly cool the presidential fervors which now periodically inflame the debates of that body. It would abate the per. sonal interest of the member in the Presiden tial Question : it would exempt him in a great degree from Executive influence; it would lead him to look to his constituents, as the source not only of his present but his future political pre-

Give us such amendments and Congress leaving to popular Conventions the work of arranging party affairs, and determining Presidential questions, would devote itself with more assiduity and earnestness to the appropriat

NATURALIZED CITIZENS

The Richmond (Va.) Times, in its displeasure at the views held by Mr. Soulé on the subject of Intervention, styles him a foreigner, in birth education, and training, and adds: "But this French Democrat did not confine

nimself to an elucidation of Gen. Washington's views of our foreign policy. We learn from frontery and bad taste to impute a want of American feeling to such men as Webster Crittenden, and Fillmore."

Were Webster, Crittenden, and Fillmore, deficient in American feeling, the imputation would come with as good grace from Mr. Soulé as from any other Senator.

The practice of discriminating between native-born and naturalized citizens finds no warrant in the Constitution of our country or in common sense. They are equal in all points, except that of eligibility to the office of the Presidency. The foreigner who leaves the place of his birth, and becomes naturalized among us, is an American citizen, and is fairly presumed to have identified himself with the interests and destinies of our country. The Constitution and Laws recognise him as an American citizen; he is such by choice; we are citizens by the accident of birth. It is no presumption in him to exercise all his rights as the question distinctly to the Chair, whether a citizen; it is sheer impertinence in us to ques

> uously as "a foreigner." The ungenerous spirit displayed by the Times newspaper does not, we rejoice to believe, percome the stranger to their shores, and regard him as one of themselves the moment he has declared his purpose to become an American citizen. What stronger evidence could he give of his attachment to this country, of his appreciation of its institutions, of his claim upon their fraternal feelings, than the abandonment of the place of his nativity, and of the rights it

Were the habit of disparaging our foreignborn population general, how long would it be ere the two classes of citizens would be arrayed against each other in deadly hostility? Then, instead of the rapid incorporation of emigrants into the mass of American citizens, the disappearance of foreign antipathies and characteristics, all the elements of antagonism would be developed into fearful activity. The emigrant would learn to hate the native-born American; he would cling to his own nation ality; we should soon have two great Parties, divided by the prejudices of birth, each abhorring the peculiarities of the other, and cultivating its own; and in this way the energies of the country would be wasted in a struggle which would utterly prevent the growth of a homogeneous population and a common na

All attempts, therefore, to discriminate be tween naturalized and native-born citizens, to arouse the prejudices of one class against the other, to excite jealousies between them, to or ganize them socially or politically according to the accident of birth, we regard as ill-judged wicked, and pregnant with the most baleful

THE COMPROMISE IN MISSISSIPPI.—The Le zislature of Mississippi has under considera tion the Compromise measures. Four out of committee of five have made a report, recognising their finality, and approving their principles. The remaining member, in behalf of the Secession members, has reported the very resolutions in favor of acquiescing in the Compromise, which the Union party in the State Convention last November adopted. It is clear that the struggle between the two factions is one, not for Principle, but for Power.

PRESENT.

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LITERARY NOTICES

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY. A Novel. By the author of "Olive and the Ogilvies." New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Ponnsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

We gave up yesterday to the reading of this delightful novel, and we can only speak of it in terms of grateful commendation. The story, the telling, and the characters which figure in it, are alike admirable. The style is pure, elegant, glowing; the moral tone not only unexceptionable, but noble; the interest constant and intense, without being painfully absorbing. Without racking one like that of the Jane Eyre novels, it all along constrains the attention, not by the strong grasp of passion, but by a tender hold on the heart.

In the whole range of our novel reading we never met with a character so grandly good, so sublimely because so simply unselfish and devoted, as that of Ninian Græme, "The Head of the Family;" but in real life we have seen, we know such an one.

The character of Rachel Armstrong is peculiar, powerful, and sharply defined. With a fearful depth of passion and strength of will, she is noble, even lovable, from the utter truth she is noble, even lovable, from the utter truth and proud devotion of her nature. Her hate and revenge are only next to her love and faith in their intensity and fearful beauty. There is something rarely touching in the character of "Our Sister," and indescribably attractive in that of Hope Ansted. Simple, modest, and tender—pure as a white rose sleeping in moonlight, sending forth the sweet influences of a light, sending forth the sweet influences of a should be devoted by the cunning of man contrived. You receive them as the peculiar, sole, inimitable language of a rare and most individual genius. His genius to the imagination takes all forms and suggests all images of vitality, power, passion, mirth, joyance, and whim. Sometimes, when in full carrier, it seems to dash along like a bold rider on a fiery steed—now it seems the surge of waves, now the rush of flame—now the silvery shout or low gurgle of mountain etreams—now holy life as unconsciously as the rose breathes out perfume, we do not always feel her presence-we hardly see her-but the whole book is fragrant with her.

There are many splendid passages in this novel, a few of which we must beg leave to

"Ninian's heart was full. He looked up at was over, they too walked, she leaning on his arm. But she did not know that he was praying, that his heart, heavy with its deep love, had laid itself down at the feet of God, beseeching for her. She did not know that all the way home, while she went smiling through sunny fields, her young soul lightened of its care, his was lifting up its passionate voice, crying on Heaven to keep safe for him his life's sole joy. Very solemn, too, was his prayer, not alone for the girl he loved, now tripping along in her sweet maidenhood, but for his wife, perin her sweet maidenhood, but for his wife, perhaps the mother of his children, his helpmeet in life's coming work, wherein all things should be done by them both for the glory of God, until, that work being over, they might lie side by side in some quiet place like this, with children's reverent tears dropping over them, waithing for the resurrential to the thingdom. ing for the resurrection, unto that kingdom when all earthly marriage shall be done away, and that marriage only remain, which, being a union spiritual and complete, is as indissolulas the union of the soul with God.

"Young men and maidens—idle dreamers of baseless dreams, which you call love, and toy with for a year, a month, a week-you know no more of the one true love, the one sacred marriage, than does a child who, looking at his own image in two or three wayside ponds, fancies he has seen and perhaps drained dry the great ocean which rounds the world."

Here is a statement, the truth of which we recognise at once, yet which we do not remember to have met elsewhere:

"It is a sign contrary to God's ordinance and in itself betokening sad mysteries, when mother-love is evidently the strongest devotion and the keenest happiness of a young wife's

"Got over it! Strangely do people talk of 'getting over' a great sorrow—overleaping it, passing it by, thrusting it into oblivion. Not so! No one ever does that; at least no nature which can be touched by the feeling of grief at all. The only way is to pass through the ocean of affliction solemnly, slowly, with humility and faith, as the Israelites passed through divide, and become to us a wall on the right side and on the left, until the gulf narrows and narrows before our eyes, and we land safe on the opposite shore."

When we laid down this charming novel, it was with a thoroughly satisfied feeling, a pleasure we have not known since reading "David Copperfield"-not that this story can well be compared with that crowning work of Dickens; it has no wit or quaint drollery, little brilliance of any kind, yet nevertheless it is quite as admirable in its way. In cheerful domestic scenes, in pictures of family union, of brotherly and sisterly devotion and affection, and in revelations of that deeper and diviner sentiment, love, we know of no writer who surpasses the author of "Olive" and the later G. G.

LETTERS FROM THE CAPITAL.

WASHINGTON, March 27, 1852. You have doubtless heard much, ere this, of Mr. Soulé's splendid Intervention speech, de-livered in the Senate on Monday last. This effort had for some time been looked forward to with unusual interest. The character of this brilliant Southron, the peculiar dramatic style of his oratory, his position in his party as regards some of the great, exciting questions of the time—the questions themselves—all conspired to render his "coming out" an event of

At an early hour the Senate was crowded,

as I only remember it to have been during the great Compromise struggle. Mr. Soule rose, and began speaking with that quiet, de-liberate dignity, that somewhat elaborate grace, so peculiar to him. His voice was pitched on a low key, and its foreign accent was for a time more than usually apparent. This quietude of manner, this elegance of word and gesture, would have puzzled one then first looking on his strong French-Spanish face, and meeting the flash of his intensely dark eyes. Such tones, such action, seem no true interpreters of a powerful and passionate nature, and we can but believe them the artistic result of long but believe them the artistic result of long study and resolute practice. In Mr. Soulé we can see that will is ever supreme over impulse, and that the artist has mastered the genius. And is not this wise? for, with the consciousness of the power which genius gives, he escapes all its disagreeable liabilities. If he denies himself the wild joy of a full and fearless abandon to impulse and inspiration, he is spared those miserable imputations of madness and folly, poured upon the enthusiast and the poet. He does not build, with his genius, radiant cloud-palaces in the far heavens; he does not bridge with its aerial structures the shadowy chasms and infinite deeps of thought; he but erects, here and there along his way, a slender Grecian column, or throws over it fair, ornamented arches hereath which

erects, here and there along his way, a slender Grecian column, or throws over it fair, ornamented arches, beneath which he walks gracefully, as to slow and somewhat solemn music.

Towards the close of his speech, the manner of Mr. Soulé became more impassioned, his tones grew clear and ringing, and his dark, tragic face was illuminated with enthusiasm; yet through all there was not one inelegantly-energetic action. There must be a primal

that strive to compress and stifle its languid

and agonizing energies?"

In a manner singularly impressive, Mr. Soulé
gave a most extraordinary, beautiful, and
solemn prophecy of Lord Pownall. But the
reverent hush which succeeded its sublime
close, Mr. Cass (may his shadow henceforth be
less and less!) had the bad taste to break, by the exclamation, "He was an old fogy after my own heart?" I half expected to hear the cry, "Put him out!" The courtly and somewhat fastidious speaker looked staggered at first; but he turned the interruption to account in a very characteristic manner, actually complimenting the General—a stretch of Parliament Soulé's peroration struck me as rather abrupt, as not so well rounded, so perfectly finished as I had expected; but it was very fine, the last

sentence in especial.

Last night, Ole Bull's concert came off with immense eclat. There was the most brilliant audience I ever recollect to have seen in Washington.
Ole Bull and his music are "one and indi-

Ole Bull and his music are "one and indivisible." It is the fullest expression of his soul—the perfect utterance, the strong and jubilant outpouring of his nature. He seems to create sounds absolutely new to every ear—sounds you never hope to hear elsewhere on earth, from the tender or terrible harmonies of Nature, from the most wondrous of human voices, or from any instrument by the cunning of man contrived. You receive them as the shout or low gurgle of mountain streams—now the dainty carol of birds, or the frolicsome "come and go" of the night winds, at play

with the summer leaves.
It is not always his grandest and most bril-It is not always his grandest and most brilliant passages which move one most deeply and thoroughly. There are notes which he flings from him as of little worth—small, separate melodies—single pebbles of sound, which go ringing down into the deeps of the soul, while the slumbering emotions they disturbed, circle on circle, go widening into the infinite.

Ah! that marvellous violin! close quarters, indeed, in which to compress such countless wonders and delights—as rare a marvel as

wonders and delights—as rare a marvel as the miraculous pitcher of Jove, or that petite boite of Pandora, which once imprisoned all the woes and pestilences of the world.

That magic bow! you cannot believe it, in the hand of Ole Bull, a mere thing of wood and horse hair, more like its course to the world.

and horse-hair-more like it seems to the want of an enchanter, with which he charms and conjures forth the obedient music. The look and manner of Ole Bull, while he is playing, are peculiarly attractive and graceful. He has little action, but that is all expressive and harmonious. His tall, symmetrical form sways to this music, like a young tree to the breath of the wind, and his fine face is ever a-glow with the high joy of the poet and the artist. He has that peculiar northern warmth, which is all the more bright and genial to us, that it is all the more bright and genial to us, that it is kindled among snows—like the ruddy fire-side glow, shining through cottage windows on a winter's night. Finally, you are as entirely satisfied with the man as with the artist, and readily receive him as a worthy master and interpreter of the divine mysteries of music.

Leutze's great painting of "Washington crossing the Delaware," now being exhibited in the rotunds at the Capitol is attracting

rotunda at the Capitol, is attracting much attention, and eliciting much praise And it is a noble work. I think I never saw picture so gloriously alive in every figure, in every point. It has great boldness of design and execution—but no extravagance, I think, no seeking after dramatic effect. It is vivid! but not highly colored—thoroughly finished, but nowhere overdone. It would make an enviable fame for the artist, were not that good

work already accomplished.

Grace Greenwood. For the National Era.

> A MARCH PROPHECY. The skies have wept and smiled, And the earth is waiting mild, And the little seeds grow wild, So, their God is in the skies; To his buried world he cries Awake! Arise!

'Tis the sweet Spring weather. On the sun-entreated hill. By the water-witching rill, They are rising, strong and still-Bladed hosts of grass and heather, There are crocuses about; March winds have found them out, With a merry mocking shout,

For the shy Spring weather. In the spirit's longing need, Making welcome every weed In the violet and the reed, Stepping bashful up together: In the sun's more generous shine, In the air as rare as wine, There are prophecies divine Of the sweet Spring weather.

CHANGE OF OPINION .- According to one of our exchanges, remarkable changes of opinion have taken place in the minds of Messrs. Fill-more and Cass. The Albany Journal says, that in 1842, Mr. Fillmore wrote a strong letter, denouncing Tyler, whose conduct he regarded as "an additional proof that our only security against treachery and inordinate ambi-

tion, is found in the one-term principle." And in 1848, General Cass, accepting the nomination for the Presidency, solemnly announced, "that no circumstances can possibly arise which would induce him to consent again

to be a candidate for the Presidency !" Mr. Fillmore now desires to fill the Presi dency for a second term, and General Cass is again a candidate! How much men will sacrifice for the public good!

THE TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

By the official statement, the value of articles exported from the United States last year amounted to \$217,517,120, of which there were lomestic products to the value of \$178.546.555 domestic gold and silver, \$18,143,163; foreign gold and silver, \$11,088,717; foreign goods exported, \$9,738,695: making an aggregate, as above of \$917,512,130

ported, \$9,738,695: making an aggregate, as above, of \$217,517,130.

The imports in the same period amounted to \$215,725,995, of which \$4,967,901 were in specie. If we deduct the specie from the gross amount of imports, and also the \$9,738,696 for foreign goods exported, there will remain \$201,019,399, as the value of foreign goods imports, and also the \$9,738,696 for foreign goods exported, there will remain \$201,019,399, as the value of foreign goods importantly in the country in \$201,019,399, as the value of foreign goods imported into and consumed in this country in the year 1851, against \$178,546,555 of domestic products which we exported in that year, leaving a balance against us of \$22,472,844. This is bad enough; yet it would have been a great deal worse, but for the advance in the price of raw cotton, which thus swelled the value of our exports, and reduced the balance against us. This and the gold received from California enabled us to meet the cost of our importations; and but for these resources, the one incidental and the other new, how would the industrial and commercial interests of the

March 15th and 16th, unanimously recommended Fillmore for the Presidency and Crit tenden for the Vice Presidency, and passed resolutions in favor of Internal Improvements Protection, and the finality of the Compromise and against Intervention. The resolutions of the last two topics are as follow:

Resolved, That our mission as a Republic i not to propagate our opinions or impose on other countries our form of Government, by artifice or force; but to teach by example artifice or force; but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation, and justice, the blessings of self-government and the advantages of free institutions.

Resolved, That we regard the series of measurements and the series of measurements.

res known as the Compromise measures as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the exciting subjects to which they refer; and that, as such, they should be faithfully adhered

WHIG CONVENTION OF PENNSYLVANIA. This Convention assembled at Harrisburg or the 25th March, and was controlled entirely by the supporters of General Scott. It passed resolutions in favor of Brotherly Love, Protection, the Constitution of the United States, the Union, Gen. Scott, Mr. Fillmore, and ex-Gov. Johnston; but of the Compromise and Fugitive Law it had not a word to say, directly or indi-

Scott was unanimously recommended for the Presidency, and Scott delegates were appointed to the National Whig Convention-ex-Governor Johnston, who would not consent to allow to slave-catchers the use of the jails of Pennsylvania, heading the delegation.

The Convention recommended that the National Whig Convention meet on the 17th June, at Philadelphia.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA It met in Richmond on the 19th March, and was a full Convention, in which every part of the State was represented. A struggle sprung up in the early part of the session, on some preliminary question, between "Young Democracy" and the "Old Fogies," the result of which showed the former to be in the ascendant. The Convention expressed no preferences in relation to the Presidency; but it is claimed that a majority favored the pretensions of Douglas. The resolutions adopted are accommodating and evasive on all questions except

those relating to the Public Lands and Protection. On the latter, they are hostile to the policy of the Pennsylvania Democracy, on the former, to the policy of the Democracy of the West. As showing the notions of Progress, nonular with the Virginia Democracy, we have re-affirmation of the resolutions of 1798 and

1. That the true relations between the States and the Federal Government, and the true rules for the construction of the Constitution. are correctly set forth in the resolutions and report of 1798 and '99, of the General Assembly of Virginia, and the doctrines therein expounded are hereby adopted and reaffirmed.

2. That Congress has no power to appropriate directly or indirectly the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, or to grant directly or indirectly the public lands to the purposes of

internal improvement.

3. That specific duties, taxing as they do the low-priced necessaries of the poor as heavi-ly as the costly luxuries of the rich, are un-equal, unjust, and odious; that duties designed and cherish one section of the country, at the expense of others, and are utterly inconsistent with justice, sound policy, and Democratic Principles; and that we are opposed to any increase of the duties on imports, especially on articles of general and necessary consumption, such as iron, coal, sugar, salt, and coarse cottons.

4. That the Federal Government ought to

adhere in its foreign policy to the maxims in-culcated by the Father of his Country, and by the Father of Democracy.
5. That we reaffirm the resolutions of the

far as applicable to the present condition of the 6. That we recommend to the Democracy of

the several Congressional Districts, to send each not more than four delegates to the Baltimore

Convention.
7. That we approve of the mode of voting heretofore pursued by the Virginia delegates in the Baltimore Conventions, and recommend that they continue the rule of casting the vote of the whole State by a majority of the distinct

tricts.

8. That the vote of the State in the Baltimore Convention ought to be given for such candidate as will command the greatest strength in the Democratic party throughout the Union and whose principles are known to conform most strictly to the cardinal tenets of the Demo

cratic Republican faith.

It is remarkable that the Compromise and Fugitive Law are treated with silent contempt. Not a syllable is breathed respecting them. This is extraordinary, when it is considered that the Washington Union, Messrs. Cobb and Foote, and the Democracy of Kentucky and Tennessee, have insisted on making the recognition of their finality a test of political orthodoxy. The Union smooths over the matter as kindly

as possible: "No allusion was made to the legislation the last Congress disposing of the Territorial and slavery questions—it being doubtless con-sidered by the Convention that no issue is now pending which can put in doubt the attitude of Virginia on those questions. It has been long since settled that Virginia did not participate in any of the movements which were designed to organize opposition to the measures of Compromise, thus setting an example which had a happy influence on the other members of the Union."

That will do for a "come-off." The resolution re-affirming the Baltimore res olutions of 1844 and 1848 is very accommoda-

ting. It re-affirms them, "so far as applicable to the present condition of the country "-that is, as it is not Abolitionists, but Pro-Slavery men, who are interfering with questions of Slavery, by efforts to extend the evil, and keep it up under Federal jurisdiction, the resolution of 1844 against the interference of Abolitionists or others with questions of Slavery, is now reaffirmed as being applicable to the "others"the Pro-Slavery Party!

are, but little more of your paper will satisfy me, as I would not wish such doctrines to be inculcated in any family circle. Slavery, the institution against which your paper is mainly directed, might be advocated from the Scriptures with even more plausible reasons than the principles set forth in Mr. Brownson's plat-form of 1840, "upon which you are willing to stand."

You now have, on this subject, partly the views of a iews of a Subscriber.

We wish persons who undertake the task of critics would use their eyes. Had our censor used his, he would have seen that the article he refers to, as editorial, had a star affixed to it, showing that it was not ours.

Again: the author of the article on Brown son obviously meant to say that he agreed with him in the general principles he asserted in 1840, concerning a priesthood, without meaning to endorse all the doctrines of his creed. We concur with him, too, to that extent. Jesus Christ never instituted a priesthood. The Jewish dispensation had its priests-the Christian dispensation has its preachers and teachers who are worthy of credence and consideration just so far as they teach and preach the Truth, and no further.-Ed. Era.

BALTIMORE, February 28, 1852. To the Editor of the National Era:

RESPECTED SIR: The genuine sentiment patriotism which animate the breasts of all men have induced a portion of my fellow-citi-zens to commemorate the life and character of the late Governor Russwurm, by having a eu-

logy pronounced upon him.
We love old Maryland; our dearest associa tions are connected with its history; but if ever we should be tempted to "seek in change of we should be tempted to "seek in change of scene the charms that others see," let Africa, that land consecrated by the chivalric deeds of our ancestors, be the home for us.

In accordance with the wishes of the Committee, I herewith transmit you a copy of the

report of the meeting alluded to.

I have the honor to be your very humble servant,

Samuel A. Neale, Secretary of Committee.

P. S. We humbly ask an insertion of the report in your paper, or a notice of it through its columns. Respectfully, S. A. N.

BALTIMORE, February 27, 1852. Prompted by considerations of the livelies sympathy for our brethren, and impelled by an irrepressible desire to evince our deep appreci-ation of departed worth, by exhibiting to them the talents and virtues of the lamented Russwurm, a meeting was convened at the residence of the Rev. Darius Stokes, on Monday evening. at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of adopting defi-nite measures on the occasion, and of having a eulogy pronounced upon him. After a half hour's social interchange of sentiment in re-gard to the object of the meeting, the Rev. D. Stokes arose, and, after pronouncing an elo-quent tribute to the memory of Governor Russ-wurm, moved that Mr. John Douglass be appointed Chairman of the meeting, and Samuel A. Neale Secretary. The motion having re-

ceived the full concurrence of the meeting, Mr. Douglass arose, and in a few appropriate remarks accepted the appointment. S. A. Neale then arose and suggested, that as speedy and definite action was highly essential to effect the completion of the object of the meeting, that the Rev. D. Stokes submit all requisite measures for the adoption of the meeting. Mr. G. A. Hackett having seconded the suggestion, the motion was passed.

Mr. Stokes then arose and submitted the fol-

lowing measures for the meeting's ratification:

1st. That the Secretary transmit to J. H.
Latrobe, Esq., a copy of the report of this meeting, with a letter informing him of our unanimous acceptance of his kind offer to deliver the eulogy on Governor Russwurm: and that preparations will be made in the colored Presbyterian church, for its delivery, on Wednesday evening, the 10th of March. Unanimously adopted

2d. That the Secretary open a correspond the Father of Democracy.

5. That we reaffirm the resolutions of the Baltimore Conventions of 1844 and 1848, as for the kind offer of their church, and to tender for the kind offer of their church, and to tender

or the kind ofter of their church, and to tender our grateful acceptance of it, informing them that the eulogy will be pronounced in it on Monday evening, the 8th of March. Adopted.

3d. That the Secretary be empowered to transmit copies of the report of this meeting to the editors of the Christian Statesman and National Era, at Washington, and also to lay copies of the report before the editors of the city papers for its insertion in their papers.

city papers, for its insertion in their papers.

Adopted by a large majority.

4th. That the Secretary be ordered to issue invitations to distinguished citizens, and that no charge be made for admission into the church on the evening of the delivery of the eulogy. Adopted.
Mr. G. A. Hackett then proposed that some

one be selected to deliver an address, as a re-joinder to the eulogy of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Mr. S. B. Hutchings seconded the proposition. The Rev. D. Stokes arose and stated, that as he had been engaged to deliver the address in the presentation of the lots of ground, on the part of the Laurel Cemetery Association, for the erection of monuments in memory of Gov. Russwurm and Benjamin Banneker, he proposed that Samuel A. Neale deliver the rejoinder.

The motion being seconded, it was carried unanimously.
On motion of Mr. G. A. Hackett, the meet ing adjourned to Monday evening, the 1st of March.

Members of Committee.—Harrison H. Webb, George A. Hackett, Cornelius Thompson, John H. Walker, Wm. S. Barnes, James H. Davis, Wm. H. Howard, Richard Mason, Samuel B Hutchings, Chas. S. Myers, Rev. Richard B Watkins, Rev. Darius Stokes.

JOHN DOUGLASS, Chairman. S. A. NEALE, Secretary.

TELEGRAPHIC LIES .- The infamous lies propagated so often by the Telegraph, are calculated to awaken distrust even of its ordinary com-munications. It has been especially active in libelling Kossuth, and its lying reports have been greedily seized upon by journals prejudiced against him. It turns out that its statement of disrespectful comment by Kossuth on Mr. Clay, in his speeches at Louisville, is an utter falsehood. The Louisville. Journal, a paper always devoted to Mr. Clay, contains the following explicit article, which exposes the cruel injustice of the Anti-Kossuth press of this city, and the base malice of their telegraphic correspondent:

of Mr. Soulé became more impassioned, his tones grew clear and ringing, and his dark, tragic face was illuminated with enthusiasm; yet through all there was not one inelegantly the proposed and the other new, how would the proposed and prop

foreign port for a new cargo, which he sells in another at a large advance, and brings back, as the final proceeds, a cargo worth one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand dollars. Here the import may double the export, showing a balance against us of a hundred thousand dollars, when, in fact, that is a real balance in our favor.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

WHIG CONVENTIONS.

WHIG CONVENTIONS

WHIG CONVENTIONS LOUISIANA.

The Louisiana State Whig Convention, held March 15th and 16th, unanimously recom-"The Republic had before it the concurring statements of three daily papers in this city, in direct opposition to the statement of an un-known and unscrupulous telegrapher. It pre-ferred to believe the falsehood rather than the

> SNUFF CHEWING .- The British Banner, the leading organ of the Dissenting Interest in England, publishes queer letters sometimes about our country. By the way, it may make a similar remark about some of our letters from England. In some recent correspondence in its columns, an Englishman, settled somewhere about Pittsburgh, writes to his friends at home, as follows:

"The females have a most abominable system of rubbing snuff on their gums and teeth; which, I suppose, they do to match the men in their filthy habit of chewing tobacco."

We suppose there may be women in America who use snuff, as there are women in England who drink; but nobody, except those whose associations are confined to such classes, imagines them fair representatives of manners and morals. Fortunately, we have yet to see a nuff-chewing woman.

PROVINCIALISMS.—Provincialisms are no always understood by strangers. Professor Johnston, in his Notes on North America, speaking of certain Yankee peculiarities of expression, entirely misapprehends one of our cant phrases:

"'Do you know so-and-so?' a person will ask; 'I do not know anybody else,' will be the reply—meaning that he knew the person, and probably many others besides. It is rare in any country to meet a provincialism so obviously awkward as this."

With such a construction, the phrase must appear very awkward indeed; but the Professor commits a great blunder. The expression means simply this: I know the person so inti-

amount was small, and he referred to numer-

ous precedents of like cases, where the duties were remitted.

Mr. Hunter said the Finance Committee had reported adversely to the bill. The parties in-terested presented a case as meritorious as any that could possibly be made out. But the committee desired the Senate should determine

committee desired the Senate should determine
the principle involved, as there were several
other cases pending. If the Senate should
pass the bill, the committee would understand
how to act upon all such cases.

Mr. Hale opposed the bill. If the duty on
vestments was to be remitted because they
were necessary for the clergy to administer the
rites of their church, why not remit the duty
on the food which the clergy ate, and which
was necessary to their existence.

was necessary to their existence.

Mr. Pratt earnestly advocated the passage of where the duty had been remitted on Bibles im-ported for the Bible Society and other religious societies. Congress had never yet refused an ap-plication of this sort, and he hoped would not

refuse this.

Mr. Badger said he was in favor of this bill. remitting the duties on the vestments of the clergymen who were to officiate in the chapel attached to this institution. The ladies en-gaged in this noble and most charitable association, to afford gratuitous education, deserved the highest commendation. They had no money, because their vows compelled them to

poverty.

The debate was continued till three o'clock, in which Messrs. Borland, Mason, Hale, Bayard and Bradbury, opposed the bill, and Messrs. Pratt, Soule, Downs, Seward, Dawson, and

Pratt, Soule, Downs, Seward, Dawson, and Mangum, supported it; and on the question of ordering it to be engrossed, it was decided in the negative, by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Badger, Brooke, Cass, Chase, Dawson, Dodge of Wis., Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Fish, Foot, Geyer, Jones of Tenn., Mallory, Mangum, Pratt, Seward, Shields, Soule, Sumner, Wade—21.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Borland, Bradbury, Brodhead, Clarke, Cooper, Davis, Gwin, Hale, Hamlin, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton. Norris, Sebastian, Smith, Spruance.

Morton, Norris, Sebastian, Smith, Spruance Underwood, Upham, Weller—22. The Senate then adjourned till Monday.

SATURDAY, MARCH 27.

The Senate did not sit to-day. Monday, March 29.

Mr. Walker presented ten petitions from Wisconsin, asking grants of land to aid in the construction of certain railroads in that State. He also presented a petition from that State, signed by men, women, and children, asking a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, which, on his

repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, which, on his motion, was laid on the table.

Mr. Sumner presented petitions in favor of cheap ocean postage.

The Deficiency bill was received from the House, and was referred to the Committe on Finance.

Mr. Seward presented five petitions from citizen of the State of Norr Vent president to re-

izens of the State of New York, praying the re-peal of the Fugitive Slave Law, which he mov-ed be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. [We notice this proceeding in another place.]

Mr. Hale's resolution directing an inquiry as

to the propriety of purchasing the picture of Washington crossing the Delaware, was then adopted.

Mr. Mason reported a bill to indemnify the

Mr. Mason reported a bill to indemnify the master and owners of the Spanish schooner Amistad, and, after a variety of motions and votes upon making it a special order, the bill was put upon the calendar.

The California dry dock and navy yard bill was then taken up, and Mr. Hunter addressed the Senate in opposition to it, and Messrs. Gwin and Hale in favor of it.

The bill was postponed till to-morrow.

and Hale in layor of it.

The bill was postponed till to-morrow.

The bill amendatory of the several laws respecting the coinage of half and quarter dollars, dimes, and half dimes (Mr. Hunter's bill) was taken up and ordered to be engrossed.

And the Senate adjourned.

FRIDAY, MARCH 26.

The House again went into Committee, and again took up the Deficiency bill.

After action upon various amendments, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

SATURDAY, MARCH 27.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the Deficiency bill.

Mr. Haralson withdrew his motion to recommit, and asked the previous question on the engrossment of the bill; pending which, Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved a call of the House, which was sustained, and 155 members only answered to their names.

The doors being closed, and pending the call of the roll, on motion, all further proceedings under it were dispensed with.

The previous question was sustained.

Mr. Fitch moved to reconsider the vote on the reconstructions.

he main question.

Mr. Fowler moved to lay it upon the table.

Carried—yeas 99, nays 71.

Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, moved to lay the bill on the table. Lost—yeas 76, nays 97.

The House then proceeded to the consideration of the amendments reported from the Committee of the Whole, which were severally agreed to, and the bill passed—yeas 94, nays 76.

Mr. Brenton moved to amend the title of the bill. Not agreed to.
The House then adjourned.

Monday, March 29.

Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, obtained leave to move a report from the Naval Committee on discipline in the navy.

Mr. Stanton informed the Heuse that the bill had passed the Senate, and its provisions had met the approbation of the Secretary of the Navy and all the officers of this station; it provided a system of reversely and appropriate the station. vided a system of rewards and punishments ur-gently demanded at the present time, and highmr. Stewart moved to postpone the bill till

next Thursday.

Mr. Stewart, on his motion to postpone, discussed the merits of the bill at length; and strenuously objected to certain provisions in it, as arbitrary, cruel, and tyrannical. Mr. Orr moved to lay the bill on the table ;

st-yeas 71, nays 94. The question then occured on the passage of the bill, which was lost—yeas 76, nays 97. Mr. Millson moved a reconsideration of the ill, and on his motion urged reasons in opposition to the hill

tion to the bill.

Mr. Evans was opposed to this modern philanthropy which expends itself on the convicts of our prisons, and criminals in general, and "feeds them on ginger bread and pound cake." He had conversed with our naval officers, and all were of the opinion that our present state of discipline would ruin the navy. Our sailors, that the prison great great was converted of the in that service, were generally composed of the most abandoned class of foreign criminals, and

most abandoned class of foreign criminals, and it is impossible to retain the better class of seamen, so long as we withhold the necessary discipline from the service.

Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, spoke of the rewards which the bill conferred upon sailors who for twenty years had performed duty faithfully. For such an asylum was provided

of Ohio, which met at Columbus on the 11th of February. One of its resolutions reads as follows:

"Resolved, That we are against monopoly in every form, whether in respect of land or hu-man sinews, and we shall never cease to de-mand for all men equal rights in the pursuit of happiness." What does this STATE CONVENTION mean?

Do they mean, that they are opposed to the possession of large tracts of land and large numbers of slaves by single individuals? Probably not, for, as consistent anti-slavery men, they ought to oppose the enslavement of every and any single human being. Their language is very vague and indefinite, but by the aid of all the lights attainable, such as history, forall the lights attainable, such as history, for-mer declarations, &c., we are enabled to guess that they intend to denounce property in land, as equally vicious, unjust, and defective, as property in slaves! Is moderation never more to be known amongst political men? Are all parties, and all fragments of all parties only to agree in the one principle of driving every measure into the extremest ultraism? I believe it is Sydney Smith who says that public wis dom is always high pressure wisdom. Extremes, alas! beget extremes. Is there a reflecting man in the community who does not see that the Red Republicans have, unintentionally, erected the most ignoble of thrones, and filled it with the most ignoble of despots, in the per-son of Louis Napoleon? This they did, by chill-ing the blood of every man of property in France, by their horrible dogmas. Louis Blanc scolds and complains. I say to him, as Nathan said

to David, O Louis Blanc, thou art one of the men who have done this deed.

This Ohio Convention are the avowed ene mies of slavery. They put our land-titles in the same category with that institution. Their ambiguous and oracular language, no doubt, threatens us with some great evil. As they are strong, it would have been merciful in them to

let us know what we are to expect."

A Subscriber. Woodsfield, Ohio, March 4, 1852.

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most a great blunder. The expression means simply this: I know the person to nistimately, that I can hardly be said to know anybody else.

"DONATE AND GIVE AWAY."—"My friend from Tennessee asked me what security we had that Congress would not donate and give away these public lands, if we adopt the graduation policy."—Speeck of Senator Brodhead, of Pennsylvania.

The Hunker Democrats of Pennsylvania pay no more respect to the proprieties of language, than to the demands of Principle. "Donate and give away?" Oh, most learned Senator, why would not "give away?" willine? And then, what is your authority for that barbarous word, "donate?"

The Free Soil Democrat of Chardon, Ohio, has passed from the hands of J. F. Asper into those of J. S. Wright, who will continue to advocate, as his predecessor has done so faithfully, the interests of the Free Soil The Free Soil Conversion of the word of the Free Soil The Private calendar was taken up, and the bill will be the thought, were loudly called for the use of the electrony. The simulation of the Private calendar was taken up, and the bill for the relief the Carmelite Numery. The simulation was small, and he referred to numery, of ERES SOIL CONVENTION OF OHIO.

To the Editor of the National Era.

The private calendar was taken up, and the bill for the relief the Carmelite Numery. The simulation was small, and he referred to numery, on the charge of the proper of the 26th ult. are contained the proceedings of the late Free Soil Convention of the Househad in the duties upon some clerical estimates, will not express any send then never the said arroport to be trained to the subscription of the Prece Soil only the contained the provision of the said arroport to be the clear was taken up.

The private calendar was taken up, and the bill was one to remit the duties upon some clerical testiments important the duties upon some c

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THE COMPROMISE MEASURES. SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS

THE SEVERAL ACTS OF CONGRESS WHICH CON-STITUTE THE COMPROMISE, INCLUDING THE

Delivered in the House of Reps., March 17, 1852.

The House having resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Deficiency Bill, (Mr. MEADE, of Virginia, in the chair)— Mr. GIDDINGS said:

Mr. GIDDINGS said:

For the manner in which these political questions are now precipitated upon the House I feel no responsibility. From the commencement of our session I have endeavored, so far as able, to guide the business of this body in the regular and appropriate channels marked out by our predecessor in the continuous card between the continuous continuo will also add, that I regretted to hear the gen-tleman from Georgia, who has just taken his seat, boast in this Hall of the price of human flesh at the South. It appeared to me that this was not the place for such declarations.

Sir, on the morning of the first day of this session, one of the great political parties of this body, in caucus assembled, resolved to sustain the Compromise measures of the late Congress. The other, assembled in like manner, laid similar resolutions on the table. The support of these measures was a subject of agitation and these measures was a subject or aguation and discussion, before we had proceeded so far as even to ballot for a Speaker; and few days of the entire session have passed, in which a por-tion of the time has not been occupied by such

The Compromise I understand to consist of a series of laws, enacted by the late Congress, consisting, first, of the law which admits California as a State. The object of that bill being accomplished, no attempt to disturb it will of course be made. Secondly, that which defines the boundaries of Texas. This, too, has accomplished its object, and is therefore settled, and no longer a subject of controversy. The others, establishing Governments in our Territories, hing Governments in our Territories, excluding the slave-breeders of Maryland and Virginia from the slave markets of this District, and that for the recapture of fugitive slaves. are in operation—subject, like other statutes, to modification or repeal. But it is said that all questions of slavery were settled by the passage of these laws; that they are to operate as a final quietus of the whole slavery agitation.

These ideas were not advanced in this body at the time those bills were passed. Indeed, if my recollection be correct, there was no discussion upon the passage of the fugitive law, or the laws establishing Governments in Utah and New Mexico. They were passed under the previous question, without examination. Few members of that Congress, I think, entertained the absurd notion that their action could bind the action of gentlemen now present. Few members from the free States, who voted for these measures, have survived the storm of popular indignation, brought upon themselves by the passage of those laws. Their successors were sent here for the very purpose of repealing these enactments; and I am of opinion that it will require strong argument to convince them that the reprehensible conduct of their predecessors is to control and govern this Con-

I am aware that men in high official stations have announced to the country that the slave questions are settled—that all agitation has ceased. But what are the facts? We see and know that discussion has increased and ex-tended more rapidly since the enactment of those laws than at any former period.

Our elections are very generally made to depend on the slave question. It has placed new and able members in the Senate, and it has driven others into vertices and it has driven others into retirement. It has occa-sioned great changes in this body. Where now are the Northern members who advocated now are the Northern members who advocated these Compromise measures? Gone, sir, most of them, to that land of political forgetfulness in deplorable ignorance, and disrobed of his from which they will never return. What questions entered into the late contest in New Hampshire? What were the issues in Massachusetts at her late autumnal election? What has occasioned the political revolution in Ohio? These elections turned upon the question of slavery. And while on this point, I would ask what has blasted and withered the last political hopes of the present Secretary of State? Every man knows that it is this very question of slavery. While he has been writing letters of slavery. While he has been writing letters and making speeches to demonstrate that the slave agitation had ceased, it was operating in the popular mind, was silently stealing his po-litical breath, and has now pronounced the sentence of death to his political hopes. In cers, it is rapidly becoming the principal dis-turbing element. The people in some portions of the country will not confide in those who are the advocates of freedom, in other parts they

will confide in no other.

The institution of slavery has increased its victims, in sixty years, from six hundred thou-

and to three millions.

The slave States, early finding themselves unable to hold their bondmen in subjection, called on the Federal Government to assist them in recovering their fugitives from their neighbors, the Indians. Without discussion, or, so far as we know, without obligation, the Executive power, then as usual in slaveholding hands, effected a treaty providing for the re-turn of fugitive slaves to their masters. This constituted a precedent. Another similar treaty followed. The Indians failed to live up to their stipulations. The sending of their fellow men back to chains and bondage was a barbarity at which they revolted. At length the first Seminole war ensued. Then the sec-ond; and untold millions of the people's money was squandered in returning them to bondage. Slavery and the slave trade, in this District,

was established early in the present century and in a few years thereafter, Congress estab-lished the coastwise slave trade. 'As the institution increased, more slave territory was de-manded. Louisiana was purchased; then Florida. Texas was annexed. War with Mexico followed, and vast territory was acquired. Three million slaves could not be held in bondage by the power of the slave States. We were called on to permit the institution to be extended into our Territories; we did so: to give free territory to Texas; and we did it: to pay her for territory which our arms had con-quered; and we did it: to take upon the nation quered; and we did it: to take upon the mation the burden of capturing and returning fugitive slaves; to appoint officers, or slave-catchers, in all parts of the free States; to subject the citizens of the North to the expenses and disgrace of chasing down the hunted fugitive, as he flies from a land of chains, and sighs, and bitter tears. The people of the free States have wit-nessed these things. They know them to be unconstitutional—violations of their rights— inhuman, and barbarous. They, of course, understand that the remedy is with themselves, and they are endeavoring to east these burdens from them. And they will do it.

Looking forward, as all reflecting men me we see that in sixty years more we shall have 20,000,000 slaves in the United Statesgreater number than our present white population. Now, sir, if this Federal Government is to take upon itself the burden and expense of holding that vast number of human beings bondage; if we are to appoint officers catch all who shall hereafter attempt to regain their freedom, and to pay the expenses of re

their freedom, and to pay the expenses of returning them to bondage; if we are to provide
territory for them, and to maintain slave markets for such a population, we shall find ourselves involved in business which may well occupy our whole time at no distant day.

For three years past, this body has done very
little except to legislate for slavery. But what
else can it do, when that institution shall be
three times as great as it now is? Sir, this
agitation will increase as slavery increases, unless this Government shall respect the constitutional rights of the free States, and relieve
them from the burdens, the diagrace, and the
crimes, of that institution.

I have so often discussed the constitutional
rights of the several States respecting slavery,
that I now feel no disposition to repeat the
doctrines on which I base my political action;
but I may be permitted to say, that Congress
has no more right to bestow its energies for the
support of the slavery of the South, than it has
to sustain their banks, their railroads, or their
system of apprenticeship, or the laws of those

late the rights of husband and wife. Slavery with all these subjects, are matters which each State should regulate for itself, and with which this Government has no right to interfere, and with which we cannot interfere, except at the expense of the constitutional rights of the North.

To this view of our constitutional obligations both the great political parties of the nation are committed. I need only quote the resolu-tion of this House in December, 1838, which is in the following words:

"That this Government is a Government of limited powers, and that, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of this Confederacy."

This resolution was introduced by a distin guished Democratic member, and was sustained by a vote of 198 yeas to 6 nays; nearly every member of both parties voting for it The Baltimore platform contains resolution substantially embracing this doctrine; and now the entire Democratic party of the nation stands pledged before the world to maintain by our predecessors in the earlier and better days of the Republic. I endeavored, by all the influence I could command, to take up the President's message in the first months of the session. On examining that document, all parties could have brought forward their views. I ties could have brought forward their views. I sage of the Compromise measures, to which I have referred. Indeed, the Whigs were more strongly committed to this policy than were the Democrats. The free Democracy at Buffalo adopted this great leading principle of State Rights, as the basis of their organization. But the distinction which marked that party as separate from both the others was, and still is, a determination to bring into practice this important doctrine, upon the maintenance of which the liberty and the rights of the people depend; while both the other parties have, practically, deserted their professed and avow-

> measures as a final settlement of the slave question, the President, in his message, exhorts the people to adhere. The Whig and the Democratic parties are each striving to go beyond the other in their devotion to this plan for significant to the plan for lencing all further agitation of the questions of liberty and slavery. The Whigs, at the com-mencement of this Congress, apparently got mencement of this Congress, apparently got the start of their competitors in servility. They passed resolutions, pledging their party to the support of the Compromise. And here, in this Hall, certain leading members publicly boasted of the fact, before we had even commenced the election of our officers. I do not say that the whole Whig party were present at the caucus, but the act has gone forth as the act of the party. Those individuals who were present evidently thought that servility to the Slave Power was the only means of securing political success. But we are given to understand, by leading Democrats and by the press of that party, that their National Convention will do that which their Congressional caucus refused to do, by passing resolutions, pledging their party and their candidate to maintain the Compromise measures. On the other hand, we are now told that the Whigs will play dark; hat they will make no avowal of principles but will select as their standard-bearer a gen tleman of acknowledged military renown; will spike his cannon, take the flints from their own muskets, and go forth to the conflict without

> And now, Mr. Chairman, the question comes home to every elector of this nation; to every man, woman, and child, whether bond or free. What will be the effect of maintaining the Compromise? agitation of the slave question? These are important inquiries, which, as yet, have never en answered; nor have they been discusse

in this body.

The first consequence resulting from the support of the Compromise will be to maintain slavery and the slave trade in this District. As already observed, in 1801, Congress pas

ed a law, by which the institution of slavery in this District, with its attendant commerce in human flesh, was continued and established under Congressional enactment. That law remains in force to this day. Here, sir, under our own observation, within our own jurisdicnever return. What manhood. By virtue of those laws he is trans-ne late contest in New formed into a chattel, brutalized, and sold like swine. Here, sir, men and women are bred for market. Beings in human shape follow the business of rearing boys and girls for sale: and by that business sustain themselves and families, and accumulate wealth.

To sustain the Compromise is to sustain

this revolting practice—to give these slave-breeders license and encouragement to pursue an occupation abhorrent to every feeling of Christianity and of decency. Yet, sir, the Whig members of this body, on the first day of our session, resolved, distinctly and emphati-cally, to support this practice, which is spurned and held in disgust by Mohammedan Govern-ments. I wish to be understood, and therements. I wish to be understood, and therefore repeat, that the support of the Compromise measures is identified with and inseparable from the support of slave-breeding and slavedealing, now carried on in this District. To sustain the Compromise is to sustain these practices. To prohibit the slave trade here would violate this pretended Compromise. It is required, I understand, of each of the Demonstration of the description of the demonstration of the description of the demonstration of candidates for President, that he shall sustain the Compromise, and thereby lend his whole official influence to uphold and encourage the breeding and sale of slaves in this District. Unless pledged to this, he cannot receive the support of that party; while the Whig candidate is to say nothing about it, to whing candidate is to say nothing about it, to express no opinion in regard to it, to stand neutral upon the subject. To stand neutral, to do nothing, is to lend an influence in favor of this growing human flesh for market. This traffic in the bodies of females depends on the value of Congress. If we say stop it covers voice of Congress. If we say stop, it ceases forever; if we are silent, it continues. To re-

main supinely silent, is to continue it.

Now, I do not think there is a member his floor from a free State who dare speak out boldly and say to this House and to the country that he is in favor of this breeding of mankind for market, that he approves of this traffic in God's image. If any member from the free States should do it, I think it would seal his political fate. Yet gentlemen do not hesitate to rise here and declare their intention to support the Compromise, thereby lending their entire influence to sustain this business of breeding human cattle for the shambles. I respectfully ask the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Brooks,] who first publicly swore allegiance to this Compromise, whether he is in favor of sustaining this traffic in human flesh? I desire to understand the position of gentlemen, and hope they will stand up manfully and avow their doctrine and their policy. I therefore respectfully ask the gentlemen to any what he will do in regard to this slave trade? Will he vote to continue or to abolish it? I await his

Inasmuch as that gentleman remains silent, I respectfully ask any other Northern man, who sustains the Compromise, to say whether he is willing to sustain this traffic in human flesh? sustains the Compromise, to say whether he is willing to sustain this traffic in human flesh? I repeat, that I understand the Compromise to embrace this slave trade; that if we sustain the Compromise we must sustain this traffic. And I desire to see gentlemen stand up, like honest, honorable men, like the Representatives of freemen, and avow their sentiments; and if there be a Northern member who will avow himself in favor of this traffic, in the face of this House and of the country, I desire to hear him, and I await a response.

But, inasmuch as I have been addressing Whigs more particularly, I will also inquire of gentlemen on the other side of the House on this point. I noticed the letter of the gentleman from New Hampshire to his constituents, alluded to by the gentleman who preceded me. I understand that he considered himself pledged to support the Compromise. I should like to know whether he will sustain the slave trade in this District?

Mr. HIBBARD. I voted for the bill of the last Congress abolishing the slave trade in the

Mr. HIBBARD. I voted for the bill of the last Congress abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. That vote explains my views on that subject. If the gentleman wishes to know whether I would vote for a bill abolishing slavery in the District, or the trade between the people of the District, I answer that I should vote against it. I am opposed to the further agitation of the subject.

Mr. GIDDINGS. I thank the gentleman for his frankness. I understand him, and the

his frankness. I understand him, and the country understands him. I was mistaken in supposing there was no man from a free State who would sustain this commerce in the bodies of women and children. But I like to see a man bold, even in his iniquities. I have more respect for the gentleman who thus says what

Union. Men, women, and children, are pur-chased in this District, and in the Northern slave States, and placed on board these slave ships and carried to the torture and premature annually sacrificed to Southern barbarity. The blood of those victims rests upon the members of this body. We have the power to stop this flood of human gore. But, while these victims toil in chains, and sigh and weep under the tortures to which our law consigns them, members here refuse to examine this subject, refuse to permit the introduction of a bill to repeal his law; but they stand here and exert their utmost powers to revive, to galvanize into life, the old party issues on which they have here-tofore contended. They endeavor to close their eyes to notorious facts, and soothe their conciences by occupying their own attention, and that of others, upon the miserable party con-flicts, which have no higher motive or aim than to secure the spoils of office to one or the other political party. I judge not for others, but so far as I am myself concerned, I should feel far less guilt were I to strike a stiletto to the heart of a single victim, than I should to exert my influence to sustain that slave trade, or than I should were I to sit here in silence and permit that infamous traffic to continue without my solemn protest against it. It is frequently the case, that men and women, apparently doomed to the tortures of the far South by this trade, commit suicide rather than meet its horrors. All will recollect the story of the father, mother, and children, confined in a slave prison in a neighboring State, destined to the Southern market. The parents, having deliberated upon their situation, and that of their children, took the lives of their own offsprings, and then sought death by their own hands. Do not we who sit in this Hall, and by our silence and inaction continue this slave trade, share in the guilt of those dark and damning iniquities? Does not the blood of those victims stain our

garments? And, when we appear at the bar of final retribution, shall we plead this Compro-mise as a justification for crimes which would strike terror to a savage heart? I am aware that some of my colleagues have pledged them-selves to sustain these Compromise measures, thereby upholding this slave trade. Now, sir, I wish to inquire of those gentlemen whether they are willing to rise on this floor, and say frankly to the people of our State, that they are in favor of supporting this slave trade? I desire a full and fair understanding on this subject. I wish to understand the position of the Whig party of my own State. Will they sustain this coast-wise slave trade, or will the not? or are they to play dark and keep silent? I mean no disrespect to my colleagues of either party. I am solicitous that the people of Ohio should understand how each of their represent-

atives stands on these questions.

The people of the North have been deceived long enough by politicians, who proclaim their intention to sustain the Compromise, without descending to particulars and explaining what they mean by such support. Indeed, gentle-men dare not avow their intention to sustain the slave trade in this District, upon our Southern coast, and in our Territories, and to maintain the infamous fugitive slave law. It was a truism uttered by my Lord Coke, when he said, fraud lurketh in generalities." This general expression in favor of sustaining the Compro se embraces all these iniquities; and when a man, either here or elsewhere, avows himself in favor of the Compromise measures, he, in substance and fact, avows himself in favor of reeding men and women for market in this District and in our Territories, and of prostituting our flag to the protection of a commerce in human flesh. I would be as willing to traffic in God's image, as I would to sustain the owner of yonder slave prison in his accursed vocation, by upholding the law which autherizes him to pursue it. I would as soon vote for Williams, the slave dealer and owner of yonder barracoon, to the office of President, as I would for any man who sustains him in his execrable commerce. Yet, sir, strange as it may seem, your Presidential candidates of the Democratic

your Presidential candidates of the Democratic party appear to think they will have no chance of success unless they patronize those worse than savage practices, while the Whig candidate is to keep silence in regard to them.

But the Compromise was intended also to, and, if observed, must, forever, close all hope of excluding slavery or the slave trade from our Territories. On this point there is no longer uncertainty. The official returns from Utah show that slavery exists there. Servile politicians can no longer deny the fact. The politicians can no longer deny the fact. The repeat that gigantic falsehood which he put forth in the Senate on the 7th of March, 1850. when he asserted that slavery was "excluded from that country by the laws of God." In deed, at the time when that attempt to deceive the people of the North was made, it was known here and throughout the country that slavery existed in Utah. The fact had been published some two months previously in most of our leading newspapers; and if the author of that declaration was ignorant of the fact, I think he was the only member of Congress uninformed on that point. Slavery also exists in New Mexico, as we have seen by the public press. Indeed, if we can rely upon the public press, a Judge of New Mexico was lately en-

press, a Judge of New Mexico was lately engaged in purchasing slaves in this city to work the silver mines of that country, from which the Secretary of State asserted that slavery was excluded by God's law.

Now, if the Compromise be sustained, then are these Territories to be delivered over to the curse of slavery. The soil which, under Mexican law, had been consecrated to freedom, is now, under American law, to be cursed with the most degrading oppression that exists upon the most degrading oppression that exists upon earth; and slave markets are to be established, and men bought and sold, and women made the subjects of purchase and sale, on territory conquered by our arms. To sustain the Compromise, is to sustain slavery and the slave trade in those Territories. To vote for Presidential candidates who uphold the Compromise, is to vote for slavery, for the slave trade, with its attendant crimes, to continue in those Territories.

Mr. Chairman, when I hear members on this floor rise and proclaim their intention to capport the Compromise, I understand them to say emphatically, that they have made up their minds to support slavery in this District and in the Territories; and to maintain the slave trade, with all its crimes and frightful amount of guilt, here, and in the Territories, and on our Southern coast. If gentlemen mean anything by their declarations, they mean this. When they say the slave question is settled, they intend to be understood by Southern men as giving their influence in favor of maintaining slavery and the slave trade, wherever they now exist under the laws of the Federal Government. I desire the people of the North to understand them. I rose to speak the North to understand them. I rose to speak for this purpose. I ever have been, am now, and trust I ever shall be, hostile to political deception and double-dealing. I desire to see gentlemen maintain their opinions at home and in this Hall. I have no respect for that man who will hold one set of doctrines before the people at home, and then lend his influence to overthrow them in this Hall. The people have no respect for such men; nor do I believe that such men have respect for themeelves.

Mr. Chairman, who that held a seat in this Hall during the last and present Congress, could listen to the gentleman from Massachutetts, [Mr. Rantoul,] who spoke so frankly and so ably a few days since, and help comparing that speech with the conduct of a certain honorable member from the same State, who, in the last Congress, fled from the Hall in dismay, rather than to give a vote on a pending

he will do, than I have for members who refuse to speak, but cast their votes and exert their influence to maintain this slave trade. I presume the gentleman honestly represents the views of his people, that they approve of this breeding of men and women for market.

But the Compromise embraces also the slave trade upon our Southern coast. All are aware that, by the ninth section of the act of 1807, alave dealers are authorized to carry (under the certain regulations,) slaves from one port of the certain regulations,) slaves from one port of the certain regulations, slaves another, under the flag of our United States to another, are purslave States, and placed on board these slave ships and carried to the torture and premature deaths, which, it is well known, await them upon the cotton and sugar plantations. There they are murdered under a slow torture by the lash of inhuman overseers. It is estimated that twenty thousand human victims are thus annually sacrificed to Southern barbarity. The resign our seats in this body; but let us not dence.

Again, sir, by maintaining the Compr we shall uphold the fugitive law, with all its infamous and unconstitutional provisions. The constitutional provisions in regard to fugitives from labor have been so often argued by me, that I will not, on the present occasion, repeat my views. I will only say that a proposition to involve the people of the free States in the expense and disgrace of arresting and imprison-ing fugitive slaves, was offered to the Convention that framed the Constitution; that the proposal was objected to; and so strong were the objections, that the member who offered it withdrew it, not daring to take a vote of the Convention. We are all aware that on that occasion no member expressed the opinion that the people of the free States were bound by that instrument, or by any moral or political principle, to participate in the expense or the disgrace of capturing fugitive slaves. We know, historically, that it was the intention of the framers of that instrument to do no more than the state of the highest order. He was himself, so far as propriety of language, gentlemanly deportment, and intelligence, are concerned, not the inferior of gentlemen here, or of the President of the United States. But he was a victim to this slave trade; and unless he now sleeps in a servile grave, he is preparing the framers of that instrument to do no more than to secure to the master the same right to pursue and capture his slave in a free State, that he possessed to pursue and capture his horse or mule. That the latter part of this provision, which says "he shall be delivered up on claim of the person to whom such service or labor may be due," renders it our duty to deliver up the slave, as we deliver up the stray horse or mule, on claim of the owner. We are not to obstruct the master in reclaimng him. This was the view expressed by the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg vs. the ommonwealth of Pennsylvania. This is perfectly consistent with the views of

the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. RAN-TOUL, who, I think, has taken the ground entertained at the time the Constitution was adopted by the people in their several State Conventions. But, for the sake of the argument, I will go beyond him, and admit that Congress possesses the right to legislate so far secure the owner in the exercise of this right; that we may, by legislation, punish any person who interferes with that privilege, either by making such interference penal, or giving a compensation to the owner. This was the view evidently entertained by the Congress of 1793. They endeavored to effect this object; but there they stopped. They made no attempt to involve this Government, or the people of the free States, in the burdens, expense, and disgrace, of catching and sending the trembling fugitive

back to bondage.

Here, sir, at this precise point, I take issue upon the constitutionality of that portion of the law of 1850 which imposes upon this Government the burden, expense, and disgrace. of chasing down the flying bondman, and sending

him back in chains.

Those portions of the law which authorize and require the appointment of officers to grant process for the arrest of slaves; that part which makes it the duty of judges to grant such process; that part which directs marshals deputy marshals to arrest the slave; which authorizes them to call on the people to assist in that piratical work; which renders it penal for a man to feed a famishing or starving fugitive, by which he shall be strengthened and enabled of them unconstitutional, unjust, abhorrent to the principles and the feelings of the people of the suffering, which now render the English the free States, inhuman, and barbarous.

and my political friends as opposed to the Constitution. They will not meet our arguments on this point. They recoil from legitimate debate, and seek to misrepresent us by general charges, carefully avoiding every specific point. I now repeat, that to the full extent to which the law of 1850 involves this Government, its officers, and the people of the free States, in the burden, the expense, and disgrace, of recapturing and returning fugitive slaves, it is uncon

And, sir, I here desire to understand if there be a member from Ohio, or from any free State east of it, who denies this position? Is there one who holds that his constituents and himself are bound to participate in the expense and crime of chasing slaves? If so, I desire that he will announce the fact. I long to find one such public man; and if there be one here, I wish

he would avow the fact.

No, Mr. Speaker, I blush for my country, when her representatives take shelter behind unmeaning generalities, and refuse to avow their honest sentiments.

If gentlemen intend to support the Compre mise, they must of course intend to chase down the trembling female, as she flees from the inhumanity of a worse than savage oppressor. And, in view of some men, no candidate is fit for President, or other office, unless he is willing thus to degrade himself in view of those who regard with sentiments of respect the dignity of the human race.

Mr. Chairman, we are under neither moral

nor political obligations to legislate on this sub-ject. The first clause of the same section of the Constitution provides that "the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the privileges and immu-ties of citizens of the several States." Now, sir, instead of carrying out this provision of the Constitution, by legislating for its enforcement, we have left the subject as it was when the Constitution was adopted. And instead of enforcing this provision, we permit Southern States now to sell the citizens of Massachusetts into slavery; and hundreds of native born American citizens have by those States been seized and sold into slavery, in plain, direct, and palpable violation of the Constitution, and are now bowing under the lash; while members of this body from the same States do not even refer to such outrages upon liberty and humanity, but are eager to rise and swear allegiance to this fugitive law; avowing their readiness to chase down a fellow being who seeks an asylum from oppression. How long will the people tolerate such callousness, such inscription to all that is right, and just, and

patriotic?

Mr. Chairman, for sixty years this construct tion of the Constitution which I have expressed has been acknowledged and observed. During that period, no statesman advanced the ab-horrent doctrine of subjecting the laboring men of the North to the disgrace of catching slaves The history of our Government shows this fact, and coming ages will read it. This law which takes from the laboring men of the North a portion of their earnings, to pay for catching and returning fugitive slaves, is a thousand times more repugnant to their feelings than was the stamp act, or the tax on tea. Under this law they are included in supporting an inthis law, they are involved in supporting an institution which they detest; compelled to contribute to the commission of a crime abhorrent to humanity. This oppression, this violation of conscience and of their constitutional rights,

to humanity. This oppression, this violation of conscience and of their constitutional rights, this tyranny, they feel and deprecate. It is impossible that an intelligent—a patriotic—people can long be subjected to such violations of their rights and the rights of humanity. The conscience of the nation cannot be long separated from its Government. It will be in vain for navy-yard chaplains to deliver lectures, and write essays, to convince our people that it is their duty to uphold the slave trade and the fugitive law. It will be in vain for "ministers of the lower law," to preach up the duty of Christians to commit crimes against God and humanity, at the contemplation of which our very natures revolt. The voice of reason and of conscience will find utterance. The escape of Shadrach at Boston, the just and holy manifestation of the popular mind at Syracuse, the merited death of Gorsuch at Christiana, should teach the advocates of the fugitive law, and of the Comments of the C in the last Congress, fled from the Hall in dismany, rather than to give a vote on a pending question, lest that vote would show his constituents and the country his position on the slave question. I care nothing for political names. The people will look at the man, and compare him with the servile. All men, of whatever party, must approve the course of him who frankly avows his sentiments; and all must pity him who has not the moral courage to give a vote where slavery is involved.

Sir, I would commend to our Whig friends the example of the gentleman from the old

the human mind. All honest men must unite in the acknowledgment of their rights. It is our duty to carry intelligence to every being who bears the image of our Creator. Thou-sands of agencies are at work, bearing information to the oppressed and down-trodden of our By an inscrutable law which pervades the

moral world, our very efforts to sustain slavery are converted into the means of its overthrow. The slave trade in this District is up-hald for the purpose of sustaining slavery in our Southern States. But where is the reflecting man, who does not see that every slave sold from this city carries with him intelligence of his rights, and becomes a missionary of free dom when transferred South? Why, sir, i that mournful procession of fifty-two victims of this infamous commerce, taken from this city in 1848, was an individual of unusual intellect. His name was Edmonson. He called on me at different times to aid him in raising money to which lies before them; a work which, if not accomplished by the voice of truth and justice will be perfected in blood. That, too, is the ease with every fugitive slave who is returned to bondage. The whole Northern slave population are becoming intelligent. They read, or hear read, the discussions of our Northern press. They learn what is said in this Hall. The remarks I am now making will reach the by oppression. To them I say, "All men are created equal;" "you are endowed by your Creator with an inalienable right to liberty;" and I add the words of one of Virginia's noblest

sons, "GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH." Mr. Chairman, the day of redemption for this people must come. No human power can

prevent it. All reason, philosophy, and his-tory, demonstrate the approach of that day. Look at the British West Indies. There the

Africans for centuries labored under the

scourge; they clanked their chains; they toiled

and wept under the hand of oppression. But they increased in numbers, as do the slaves of our Southern States. Their oppressors became enervated by indolence and luxury, while the slaves increased in numbers, in knowledge, and in power, precisely as do the slaves of this land, sarcastically called a land of freedom. They became an expense to their Governmen as do ours. That expense increased, as our does, until the Government had no other course than to purchase them and set them free. The same result is intended by those who now ad vocate the Compromise, which is nothing more nor less than an attempt to throw the burder of sustaining slavery upon this Federal Gov-ernment. As was well remarked by the gendeman from Massachusetts, [Mr. RANTOUL,] i is a Federal measure, a centralizing measur calculated to concentrate power in this Gov ernment, and to destroy the influence of the The plan has often been hinted and this day it is more than hinted, in the leading organ of the Administration of this city. This grand scheme will subject the nation to a debt of \$1,200,000,000 third greater than that of England-a debt which he shall be strengthened and enabled pursue his flight—these provisions are each the laboring men of this nation, cripple our he free States, inhuman, and barbarous.

Mr. Chairman, it has pleased certain gentlecivilized world. The Compromise is but the we are now willing to subject the funds of the nation to sustain this institution, if we silently submit to this Compromise, I assert, without hesitation, that a proposition to relieve our-selves from this burden, by the purchase of the slaves of the nation, will be made within the next five years. I therefore say to the laboring men of the North, of all parties, your con-

> this fugitive law.
>
> Sir, gentlemen here strive to get up old party issues. Who does not know that those issues issues. Who does not know that those issues have become obsolete; that they cannot be alvanized into life? Who now contends for National Bank? Who opposes the sub-treasa National Bank? Who opposes the sub-treas-ury? These issues have been surrendered by the Whigs. The Democratic party no longer contends against harbor and river improve-ments. There will be no more proceeds of the public lands to divide among the States. There is no longer any issue of principle in regard to the tariff. The Whigs ask no more, than that the revenue to sustain Government shall be raised by a tariff of duties, so adjusted as best o promote the interests of our own labor. To his the whole Democratic party of the North ssent. There is no longer any party who goes for free trade—for supporting Government by direct taxation. I would myself be willing to try this method, as it would soon abolish the slavery of the South; but no political party is in favor of that system; all agree upon the principles of a tariff, but differ as to the amount which shall be assessed on various articles. Why, sir, for three years the parties have

stitutional rights, your liberties, are in danger. To pay \$1,200,000,000 would, however, be far

s degrading to the Northern character than

been unable to arrange themselves upon any saue, whether it be the tariff, or any other of the old questions which divided Whigs and Democrats. Nor can those issues ever again become interesting. They have become obso-lete by force of circumstances. While these issues have been fading away, the great and overshadowing questions of humanity have been increasing, strengthening, and extending throughout the nation. It has entered into all our moral and political questions. It is dis-cussed in our social circles, our political conventions, and our pulpits. It controls our county and State elections, our elections of members of Congress, and our Presidential elections. It occupies the attention of our State Legislatures and of Congress. Europe sym-Legislatures and of Congress. Europe sym-pathizes with us in this great work. The ques-tion of a man's right to his life and liberty now occupies the attention of the civilized world. It has thrown Europe into commotion. Her people, her statesmen, are discussing it. It has taken an undying grasp upon the conscience, the judgment of this people. The agitation will go on, until this Government shall be redeemed and regenerated from oppression, until the stain of slavery shall be wiped from

our national escutcheon.

Let me assure gentlemen that a noble band of patriots, of philanthropists, are now laboring to bring about this "consumnation so devoutly to be wished." Upon the broad basis of truth, of justice, of equal rights, of the brotherhood of man and of nations, we have taken our stand. Our numbers are increasing. The effects of our labors are becoming manifest. Our cause is advancing. Our moral and political influence is extending, and our final triumph is certain. We have no hostility to any party. Our contest is waged against oppression in all its forms—against tyranny and usurpation. Nor will we cease our warfare, until victory, rendered glorious by results that will reach forward to man's remotest existence,

shall crown our toils
[Here the hammer fell.]

A STORY FOR LITTLE CHILDREN.-Ther A STORY FOR LITTLE CHILDREN.—There was once a little boy, who heard one Sunday a clergyman preach. The text which the clergyman read was, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you." After reading the text, he stopped a minute, and asked his hearers to consider what it was they should like most, and then to ask for it in Jesus' name, trusting to his promise that it would be given to them. At the end of the service, the little boy asked his aunt if she had asked for anything; then she asked him what he had asked God to give him, and he said, "I thought first of one thing

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS. THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION.

> SENATE. TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

After several other petitions and reports, Mr. Dodge presented the petition of numerous citizens of Washington, praying a change of the city charter, so as to have all officers of the cor-

poration elective.

A bill amending existing laws, so as to enatheir salary, notwithstanding their absence from the Territories, provided that absence be with the approval of the President, was taken up, and, after discussion, was ordered to a third

reading.

The bill providing for the establishment of a dry dock and navy yard on the bay of San Francisco was then taken up. Mr. Gwin ad-dressed the Senate in defence of the bill, and Mr. Brodhead commenced a reply, but before concluding he yielded the floor, and the Senate adjourned. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24.

Mr. Sumner presented petitions in favor of

cheap ocean postage.

Messrs. Bradbury and Soulé presented petitions in favor of the extension of further aid to the Collins line.

Mr. Gwin said it was unnecessary to refer

the petitions, as the Committee had agreed to report a uill.

Mr. Borland submitted a resolution calling upon the President to communicate a variety of information concerning the plan, materials, contracts, &c., for the extension of the Capitol.

He defended himself from certain remarks by the Republic, upon his course in relation to the After some remarks by Mr. Badger, the reso-

lution was agreed to.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of Executive business, and shortly after adjourned.

THURSDAY, MARCH 25. Mr. Fish presented three memorials, which he said were respectably signed by citizens of New York, connected with all the political parties, praying that Congress will stand firmly by the principles of Washington, as embodied in his Farewell Address, with respect to for-

by the principles of Washington, as embodied in his Farewell Address, with respect to foreign affairs, and not yield to the dangerous doctrines of Kossuth.

On motion of Mr. Fish, the memorials were laid on the table, a committee of the Senate having the subject before them.

On motion, the Senate took up and adopted the resolution heretofore submitted by Mr. Sumner, calling upon the Postmaster General for a great variety of information connected with his Department. Also, the resolution heretofore introduced by Mr. Weller, calling for information with regard to certain charges against the Mexican Boundary Commissioner.

The Senate then proceeded to the consider-

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the bill to establish a navy yard and naval depot at San Francisco, when Mr. Brodhead resumed his remarks in reply

The bill was further discussed by Messrs. Badger, Gwin, and others; after which, the amendment offered by Mr. Badger to that reported by the committee was agreed to. Several other unimportant amendments were made, and the amendment of the committee agreed to. The bill was then reported to the enate, and all the amendments concurred in. Mr. Brodhead then offered a substitute for the bill, providing in substance for the construction of a pier, in the place of a basin and railway; pending which, The Senate adjourned.

> HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

The House again resolved itself into a Comnittee of the whole on the state of the Union, and again took up the Deficiency bill, when various amendments were submitted, reducing

of five companies of Taxas mounted voluntage being \$80,711; making in the aggregate \$359,000, to \$100,000; but without the Committee being able to arrive at a vote, and at twen y minutes past three, the Committee rose, and

he House adjourned. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24.

The House went into Committee, and again ook up the Deficiency bill. Mr. Gorman, of Indiana, moved to strike ou the sum of \$75,000 for subsistence, and to substitute \$3,000; and, in reply to the remarks of Mr. Houston yesterday, stated that the law upon which that gentleman relied, for making the transfer alluded to, only sanctioned a trans-

fer when there was a surplus in hand.

Mr. Evans, of Maryland, said he had proposition to make to the other side of the House, which was, instead of voting to support the army, and then cavilling about granting the supplies, to bring in a bill reducing the army and navy, and abolishing the forage.

The appropriation was then passed, when

the next appropriation of \$80,741, for pay of five companies of Texas mounted volunteers, came up. Mr. Brooks moved to strike out the

item, it not being to meet any deficiency.

Mr. Howard, of Texas, explained that it was to pay volunteers who had served out their time, and for which no appropriation had been made. Discussion took place on the section appro

priating \$12,000 to complete the improvement on the square south of the President's house. The motion was passed with an amendment, requiring a contract to be entered into, with good and sufficient security.

Mr. Stanton renewed his amendment, appropriating \$1,500 for the casual repairs of the Capitol; which was agreed to as a separate

em. He then moved resolutions pursuant to in structions from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds; two of which were \$2,500

for the removal of the green-house, and \$10,000 for the repairs of the Potomac bridge, which it was understood would cost \$2,000—all of which were rejected.

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, chairman of the
Committee on Indian Affairs, moved a section appropriating a sum to be paid to the Senece

Indians, to replace the amount of which they had been defrauded by an agent. Pending the discussion, the Committee rose and the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, MARCH 25. On motion of Mr. Houston, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of

into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and resumed the consideration of the Deficiency bill.

The Committee agreed to an amendment to pay the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York, \$28,500, for moneys wrongfully withheld from them by an unjust agent; and the Secretary of the Interior is required, upon the payment of the money, to take steps to enable the United States to recover the amount due from United States to recover the amount due from aid agent.
The bill was considered until half past three

o'clock. Various amendments were proposed and debated, under the five minutes' rule; but without coming to any vote on the bill, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

MANHATTAN QUARTZ MINING COMPANY :

Capital Stock, \$150,000; Shares, \$100 eachlocated in Grass Valley, the focus of Quartz Mining in California; chartered for Fifty Years, under Incorporation Act of California; Office, No. 208 Broadway, New York city. TRUSTEES.

JOHN A. COLLINS. HARRISON SCOTT.
JOHN COOK, Ja. WILLIAM C. CROSETT. JOHN COOK, Ja. HORACE GREELEY. LOCATION AND CLAIMS.

LOCATION AND CLAIMS.

THE principal "CLAIMS" of the Company are upor

"Manhattan" and "Willow" Hills; it has also valua
ble possessions upon "Gold," 'St. Lawrence" "Laurel,"
"Chestnut," and "Oabrun" Hills—a total of 64 lots, 26 of
which are 100 feet such upon the velu, with all its dips and
angles: 24 'a laims, 100 feet square; 8 claims, 60 feet square
and 6 claims, 30 by 40 feet—all of which are of an average
ricaress, at least, of orase Valley gold-bearing Quarts.

TITLE.

The titles to these veins are of two classes. One is derived from Mexican grants, embracing tracts of several leagues; and the other, which is nearly universal, by settlement and occupation upon the public domain of the United States. The first class of titles is disregarded by the mners, but the latter claims universal confidence and respect, and by the last ession of the Legislature of California was legalised.

The statutes provided that in all cases of trespass upon miners' claims, a Justice of the Peace shall have jurisdiction, and is required to award his decision in accordance

with the regulations of the miners for the government of that narticular locality where the claim in dispute is situ-Ated.

Hence the most perfect confidence is reposed in these tities. For individuals and companies they are regarded as

tles. For individuals and companies they are regarded equal to a fee simple. So great is the confidence in that claims valued at thousands of dollars are constant. changing bands. It is eafe to say that not one hum suits have grown out of conflicting claims since the first covery of gold in California. GRASS VALLEY QUARTZ.

GRASS VALLEY QUARTZ.

As the operations of the Company are located in Grass Valley, it may not be out of place to g we the reader an approximate idea of the general average of the diantz rock in this partioniar region. In a diciting tertimony upon this point, we shall summon upon the stand as winesses a few from the many who are or have been practically engaged in quarts mining in this place. The President of this Company, from long experience, is of the opinion that the great mass of this quarts will average, by the present mill operation, two cents to the pound, or \$iper ton. The q arts crushed at the mill of the Grass Valley Quartz Mining Company, formerly John A. Collins & Co., has ranged from one to eight cents a pound, or from \$70 to \$160 s ton. At this mill, the average yield has been acoust three and a half cents to the pound, or \$70 s ton. Most of this rock however, was from "Daisey," "Gold" and "Usburn?" Hills—among the richest veins now worked

Hon James Waish, Senator from Nevada coun'y, and proprietor of a large quarts mill, in writing upon this subject, says:

"The rock (from which all the richest portions have been

prietor of a large quarts mill, in writing upon this subject, says:

"The rick (from which all the richest portions have been culled) has paid as low as \$20 per ton, and as high as \$120 per ton. The quarts is paying better now than at first.

* I think the average of the quarts in this vicinity will be found to be about \$40 per ton."

"The rock on that (Gold) Hill, after taking out specimens enough to pay for working the hill and excavating the rock, will, beyond doubt, pay an assay of five cents per nound. The quantity of gold bearing quarts in this (Grass Valley) district, it is impossible for any one to estimate. * * seven with high labor, imperfect modes of quarrying, and very inefficient machinery, the mills are making money?"

James Hongh, a heavy quarts operator, writing on this subject, under date of July 25, 1851, says:

"Up to the present time, I have quarried some fourteen hundred tons of rock, have had in my cap oy from eight to twelve men daily, and have more than paid my entire ex-tended by crushing with a hand morter the richest portions of the rock, paying wages at the rate of three or I au dollars a day, with board. By this hand operation I have crushed

a day, with operat. By this hand operation I have crushed quarts yielding as high as eighty-six dollars to the pound, and little, it any, less than three dollars. "
"After these 'specimens' have been carefully culled from the whole mass of the rock by breaking it up into small pieces, the smallest yield of the remainder, when crushed and amalgamated at the mill, has be us 300 per ton, and the largest that has come under my observation as high as \$140. In my opinion, \$70 would be a fair average of each ton of rock."

Prof. Blake, a man of science, and thoroughly acquainted with this subject, writes:

with this subject, writes:

"In Grass Valley, very rich quartz has been found. In many specimens that I have seen, the quartz might have been said to have been literally imbedded in the gold, rather than the gold in the quartz. * * * There can be no doubt, also, that quartz, in which no gold is vible to the naked eye, often conexins a considerable portion. I have (continued the Professor) analyzed rock in which a careful examination could not detect a particle of gold, but which has yielded as high as twelve cents to the pound."

Dr. Huddart remarked that Nos. 1, 2, and 6, showed no signs of gold whatever to the naked eye, previous to smelting; Nos. 3, 4, and 5, showed gold in spots, but were by no means what would be called picked specimens.

The above calculations are based upon the value of gold at \$16 per ounce. In giving the dollars t: the ton, the cents are omitted.

THE MACHINERY will be similar to that employed by THE MACHINERY will be similar to that employed by the Grass Valley Quartz Mining Company, formerly owned by Joha A. Collins & Co. This style of machinery has been thoroughly and successfully tested. It will accomplish the same amount of labor with the employment of half less

power than any other style of in

chinery:

ORASS VALLEY, December 7, 1851.

DEAR SIE: You ask my opinion of the Grass Valley Quarts Mining Co.'s Mill, Claims, &c., formerly snown as J. A. Collins & Co.'s Model Mill. I have had charge of the mill, as engineer, since the mill was started, (some six months) and can confidently say this mill is canable of crushing more rock than any mill in the Valley. This mill has ten stamps, but owing to their size, and the peculiar construction of its batteries, will orush nare rocks with one-third less hands and half the power, than other mills in this town that have eighteen s' amps.

Our average run for several weeks past has been four tons per day, (of twenty-four bours, per stamp But this has been rock that crushes easier than the average yield of the mines. Still I have no hesitation in saying we can orush thirty tons per day, with the rock property prepared, from GRASS VALLEY, December 7, 1851.

the appropriation for the subsistence of the army, which were supported by different speakers, and opposed by Messrs. Venable, Stanly, Evans, and others. The discussion was a mere repetition of what was advanced yesterday.

The question several times reverted to the amendment of Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, to reduce the subsistence in kind, amounting to \$279,000, and the amount required for the pay of five companies of Texas mounted volunteers. ne r se quartz, which crushes, as I was saying before, eas hau the average, owing to there being but little crystalling arts mixed with it. WM. H. WILLETS

J. L. CROSETT, Esq. I have been running with Mr. Willets, as engineer, some we months, and fully concur in the above. MOSES L. REMENTON.

The Nevada Journal, under the date of November 8, 1851.

The Nevada Journal, under the date of November 8, 1851, speaks of this mill as follows:

"In one of these mills we observed an improvement over the usual process, at once simple and effective, which proprietors would do well to copy. We refer to the stamps and mortars connected with the mill of Nicesrs. John A. Collins & Co. This mill wich ten stamps has been in use some four months, and yet the wear in them is almost imperceptible. On examining the construction of the stamps and mortars, we were not surprised at this result. The stamps are very large, 14 by tinches on the face. The mortars in which these stamps play are twenty-four inches wide. The advantage of this is the quartz, instead of packing down in a solid mass as it will in a confined mortar, has plenty if from to fly about; the fine is ejected through the sieve, and the coarse is constantly 'alling under the stamps. Take a haudful of salt, and put it in a hand mortar and pound it with a pestic of the size of the mortar, and it will crowd down in a solid mass, and at the bottom the lumps will be as coarse a ter an hour's pounding as when put in; whereas, if the mortar is roomy, the sait is in constant motion, and soon pulverizes. This is the philosophy of these roomy mortars and wide stamps, and it is obvious, as well as decided by experiment, that the wear on the stamp must be less when a large face as the fairly on the quarts, and the grinding from the vides is removed."

The California Express, under date of November 12, 1851, speaking of this mill, remarks: 1851, speaking of this mill, remarks :

1851, speaking of this mill, remarks:

"Among the most efficient mills now running, are those of Legrave & Co., John A. Collins & Co., and Nir. Waish. The first runs is stamps, and the last two, 10 each. The stamps of the first are only six inches equare on the lace, and those of Collins & Co. are eight and fourteen inches—more than three times as large, and their mortars are correspondingly large. The consequence is, this mill will crush considerably more than any in this valley."

James Delevan, Secretary of a Company that is constructured.

James Delevan, Secretary of a Company that is construct-a large mi.l in Grass Valley, writes:

"This mill and veins (Collins and Company's) have an excellent reputation in this community. I regard it one of the test and most dirient in this section."

Captain E. Wilson, long engaged in mining, in speaking

Captain E. Wilson, long engaged in mining, in speaking of this mill, writes to J. L. Crosett:

"I have no hesitation in saying that I believe it one of the most efficient for reducing rock and saying gold, in operation. This I believe is the opinion of every judge working in the Valley."

An intelligent writer in the California Courier bases a calculation of the operations of a mill, crussing 100 tons daily, at one cant per pound, as follows, to wit:

Expenses quarrying crushing, &c. \$1,100

100 tons at \$20, or one cent a pound 2,000

Profits
An addition of one mill per pound will add \$200 a day, or Profits

An addition of one mill per pound will add \$200 a day, or \$60,000 a year of 3.00 days; at two cents per pound, would produce a profit in one year of \$370,000.

Two cents is the lowest average made for culled quartz, even by any of the Grass Valley quartz miners. With most of the Trustees of this Company, quartz mining is sonething more than mere theory. Four of them have been practically engaged in this bushlesses. Two of the Trustees see now in Grass Valley, looking after the interest of this Company. At the very lowest estimates, the profit is enormously large Many mills, small and imperient as they have been, are paying good dividends.

The mill of the Grass Valley Quarts Mining Company, formerly under the direction of the President of this Company, paid its original coat in sixty days, and since, it has paid large profits, no withstanding it has been three times remodeled, improved, and enlarged.

A letter published in the Alta Catifornia, in referring to the Companies working, in the Maripeas mines, says:

"Three others i heard of, have dit ided—one 10, one 11, and one 15 per cent. per month on their capitals."

The Gold Hill Quarts Mining Company, of Grass Valley, on the 10th irst, declared a divident of ten per cent. on their capital.

Facts and estimates as to what has been, and what may be done might be multiplied to an indefinite extent, but sufficient has already been presented, to enable the inquirer to form some idea as to what may be accomplished by this Company. If its success depends upon an excellent location, good and extensive veins, abundance of wood and water, a salubious climate, the heaviest and most improved machinery, and a large experience in quarts operations on the part of the Directors, and their determination to put forth every exercit or typuscente the work with energy and the most rigid economy, then the steckhelders will reap agolden harvest by large divider ds, and increase in the vaine of stock.

THE EXTENT OF THE WORKS.

THE EXTENT OF THE WORKS.

THE EATERS OF THE WORKS.

For the amount named at the commencement of this article, the hitherto proprietors of the gold-bearing localiti. I are resulted to the said property, and to erece thereon, at the earliest possible day, the necessary buildings and machinery adequate to the reduction of 100 tons of quarts per day of 24 hours, as

sible day, the necessary outlangs and mannines and chark to the reduction of 100 tons of quarts per day of 28 hours, as follows, vis:

The mill will consist of 36 stamps, after the pattern of John A. Collin's & Company's mill, with a few important improvements, and playing in aix batteries of six stamps each—amalgamator sadequate to detect the gold as fast as the ore is pulverised—an engine of sufficient power to drive all this machinery, and an additional power of ten horse, to my or machinery, and an additional power of ten horse, to my or machinery, and an additional power of ten horse, to my or machinery to reduce the tailings, or the ore after it has passed through amalgamators, when such improvements shall have been discovered. The buildings will consist of a stamp hones, 30 by 50; amalgamating house 30 by 40 feet; an engine house, 20 by 30 feet; ehon for miliwright and blarkemich, 29 by 30 feet; dealing, 30 by 40 feet; office, 16 1y 20 feet; and wood-house, 50 by 60 feet.

They furthermore screet og ive their own time, experience, and labor, to promute the interests of the company, according to their best judgm nt. up to the time the engagements above specified shall have been fully performed, and the works of the company completed and running in perfect order.

HORACE GREELEY, Treasurer and Secretary.

HORACE GREELEY, Treasurer and secretary.

Deep Pamphlets containing the charter of this Company and the laws of California upon corporations, and facts concerning Quarts and Quarts Mining, can be had by addressing, post paid, and enclosing two postage stamps, JOHN A COLLINS, No. 208 Broadway, New York City, where

Notes or Drafts, to
March 11-3t

JOHN A. COLLINS, President